Concise History of Great Nations

History of SPAIN

A part of Europe and yet on its periphery, a neighbor of Africa and yet separated from it–these are factors which have dominated Spanish history since classical times. A country which absorbs contrasting peoples and cultures, a people which fights to repel them, as if guarding a fortress. A country which was conquered and itself conquered a world-wide empire. A nation whose long history still determines the problems of the present.

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History of Spain

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Concise History of Great Nations
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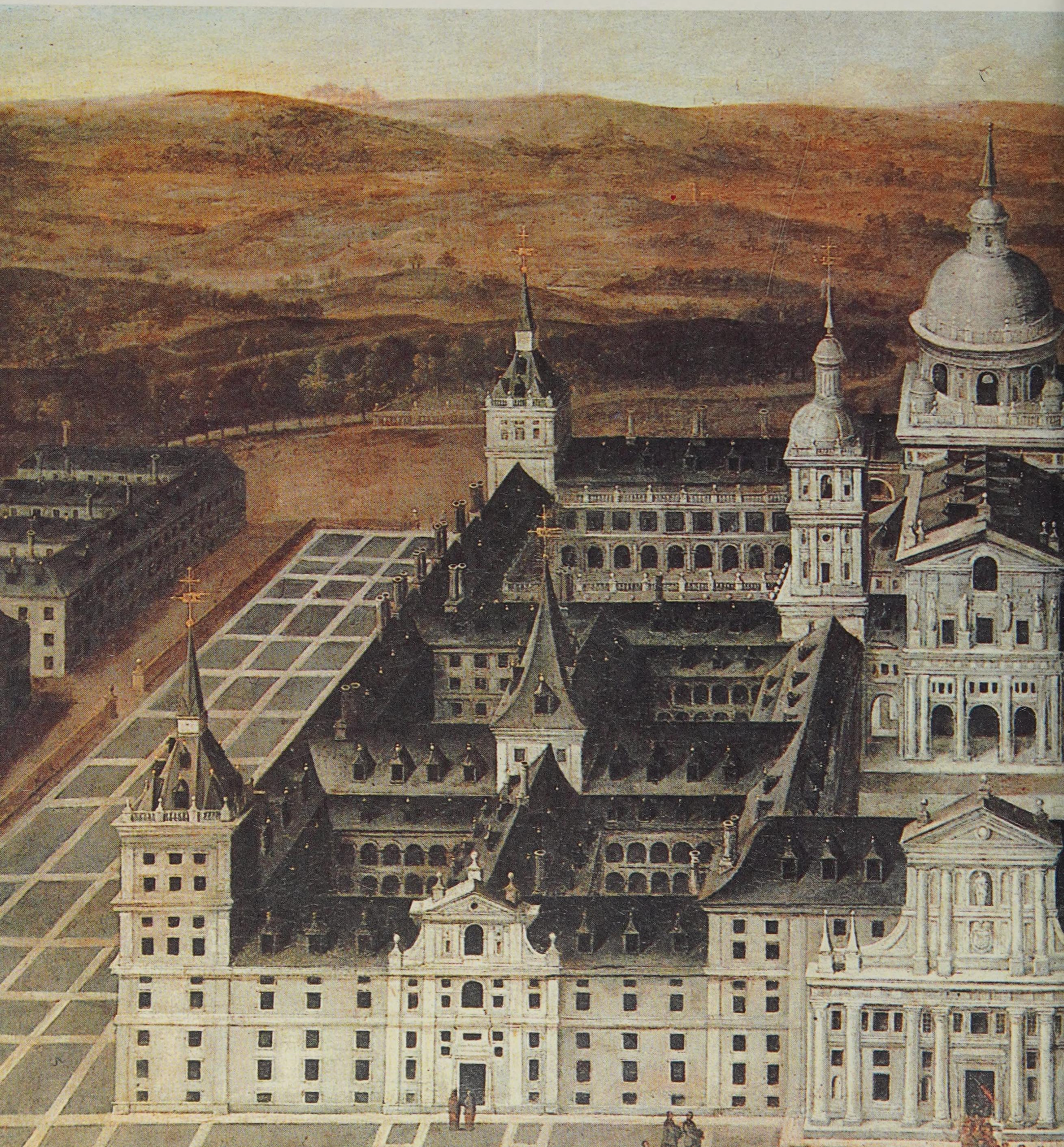

Fernando Diaz-Plaja

Spain

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Translation by David Macrae

Jacket: The Moors surrender Grenada to the Catholic monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel.
Title page: El Escorial in the time of Philip II. Originally built as a monastery, it became the center of spanish power throughout the World.

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1 From the Celtiberians to the Visigoths

The first Spaniards

Spain's geographical position—in the far corner of Europe, divided from Africa by a narrow strait, the Strait of Gibraltar—has greatly affected the course of its history. On the one hand, it was a thoroughfare, while, on the other, it constantly hesitated between European notions of joint effort and collective endeavor, and the individual courage, disregard for reason and emphasis on instinct more characteristic of the civilization of North Africa.

Nevertheless, the customs of the first inhabitants were basically the same as those found all over Europe at the time. Their art—as seen in the caves at Altamira—is substantially the same as that of France and England during this period, even though it is generally considered to be more beautiful. The menhirs, or *talayotes*, on Menorca, are similar to monuments which still exist in Wales. Once the ice had receded from southern Europe, cave-dwellers and those living in primitive huts had very much the same civilization and way of life.

The first known settlers during the first millenium before the Christian era were known as the Iberians, a name which they were given by their Greek and Roman discoverers. According to a theory which was widely accepted around the turn of the century, they were originally from North Africa and were related to the modern Berbers, while more recent opinion has established a link between them and the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. Whatever their origin, they merged with other peoples, of clearly Central European origin, the Celts. The Celtiberians, which is the name given to the result of this blending of races, were studied closely by the first group of scholars from more advanced countries to visit the peninsula. Diodorus of Sicily speaks of their cruelty and their hospitality, while Strabo mentioned the individual pride which prevented them from achieving unity in the face of a common enemy. They were seen as men who gave harsh treatment to strangers who came as enemies and great generosity to those who came as friends, and as being ill-suited to team-work—qualities, in other words, which are not unlike those attributed to the Spaniards of today.

There was also a highly exceptional people, who lived in Tartessos, the land mentioned in the Bible, which was rich in gold and silver; it was said to have a perfect form of social organization, together with trade links all over the Mediterranean. The curious thing about the Tartessans is that no material remains of their civilization are to be found in the area where they were known to have lived—along the banks of the Guadalquivir, in western Andalucia. They evidently did exist; and, equally evidently, their legend has been considerably embellished by the mystery which has surrounded it.

Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians and Romans

Despite its great wealth, Tartessos did not prove to be very strong, and was eventually taken over by a people which was seeking to extend its commercial influence along the coast—the Phoenicians, from the city-states of Sidon and Tyr on the other side of the Mediterranean. The Phoenicians were anxious to secure markets rather than to win political control over territories; whenever they occupied some sheltered bay or creek along the Spanish coast, they did so in order to enable their ships to unload merchandise from overseas, so that the inhabitants of the hinterland, drawn by eternal lure of the exotic, would come down to inspect their goods. In return for their fabrics, the Phoenicians obtained from the inhabitants of the peninsula gold and silver, from primitive mines or gold-bearing rivers. Gades (Cádiz) was to be one of their main cities on the peninsula. From them, the Celtiberians seem to have learnt an alphabet, a notable acquisition in those days.

Another trading nation, situated much further to the east of the Mediterranean, the Greeks, followed the same policy and the same intentions. Instead of landing to the sound of battle-cries, they introduced themselves in the honeyed tones of diplomats. They showed their products rather than their weapons, and merely sought places to display them, for purposes of trade, along the coast. Greek ships were a common sight in the ports of north-eastern Spain. The modern town of Ampurias, originally "Emporio" (*trade*, in Greek) was one such port, while its name was highly symbolic of Greek ventures in this area. In this way, while the hinterland of the peninsula continued much as before, with its ancient customs, the coast was gradually being opened up to the influence of foreign civilizations.

This state of affairs continued until the Phoenicians were supplanted in the western Mediterranean by the Carthaginians and the Greeks were replaced by the Romans. In the first case, one member of a family was simply relieved by another. The Carthaginians, who were situated on the north coast of Africa, near the site of modern Tunis, had inherited from their cousins an instinct for trade, but,

Left: the Lady of Elche: priestess or queen?
Upper right: Roman remains, the houses of those who once ruled Spain. Lower right: the amphi-theatre at Merida where the dramas of Antiquity were once performed.

perhaps because they had had a tougher life, they sought to back it up with military force. The natives of other countries were going to have to buy their products not merely for their possible quality, but also because the Carthaginian soldiers escorting the merchants were quite prepared, if necessary, to force them to buy. The Phoenicians' sole ambition had been to build an economic empire, whereas Carthage also wanted military and political control.

But they were now in competition with another new nation, Rome, which, though less refined and cultivated than Greece, was tougher and more ambitious. This rivalry took the form of the Punic Wars, which, like all wars between Great Powers, were to have a marked effect on the neighboring countries, which are the usual victims of such conflicts. In this case, the victim was Spain, which was to watch, helplessly, as its destiny was decided by the two belligerants.

In geometry, the shortest distance between two points is a straight line; but this is not always true in geo-politics. Carthage was situated opposite the coasts of Italy, yet the troops of Hannibal and Hasdrubal were not to cross the stretch of water between them; rather, they chose to follow a route along which Roman influence was already beginning to make itself felt: Spain. Hannibal, the young Carthaginian leader, went up the coast from Carthago Nova (Cartagena). Since there was no such political entity as Spain, but only a number of groups, he sought alliances with some of them and clashed with the others. Sagunto, a town half-way between the modern Valencia and Barcelona, was one of the places which opposed his advance. Being already allied to the Romans, Sagunto refused to accept the new treaty proposed by Hannibal, put up a heroic defense, but was eventually captured, after its inhabitants had collectively committed suicide. Traditional Spanish historians have always maintained that it is the first symbol of Spanish resistance to invaders; however, the truth is that Sagunto merely chose between two different sets of foreigners—and made the wrong choice, at least in their isolated case. While the defenders of Sagunto were unquestionably Spanish, the same was true of at least some of the troops on the other side. Indeed, those same auxiliary troops—cavalry, slingers—then followed Hannibal in his incredible crossing of the Alps, and helped him to victory on Italian soil, at Tesino, Trebia, Trasimeno and Cannas.

In order to dispose of him once and for all, the Romans had to fight on two fronts, the Carthaginian base in Spain, Carthago Nova, and their national base, Carthage itself. When Scipio received the title of "Africanus" on account of his victory at Zama, Rome's major worries were over. Then, however, he had to shift his attention to Spain, because if this threat to Rome—the most serious danger that the vigorous young state had yet had to confront—had come from Spain it was indispensable that the country should be subjected to Rome. Full of confidence in the just nature of their cause, after the defeat of their awe-

Right: Spain both received from Rome, and gave to Rome. One of its gifts was Trajan, a great emperor, who came from what is now Andalusia. Seneca was also of Spanish birth. Below: Public works, Roman style, a symbol of efficient administration. The aqueduct of Segovia, which is still in use, is perhaps the most perfect structure of its kind in the whole world.

some enemy in North Africa, the young Roman republic decided that the natives of Iberia needed to be brought out of the "savagery" of their ancient ways and be introduced to the kind of perfect legal and cultural organization that was to be found along the banks of the Tiber. Great was their astonishment, and particularly that of Scipio himself, when it became evident that the Celtiberian savages were as resolutely opposed to Roman ambitions as they had previously been to those of Hannibal. The name of Sagunto had now been replaced by that of Numancia, though the problem was the same. An isolated group refused to surrender, despite their obvious weakness in the face of the strongest army in the Mediterranean. This very one-sided struggle also continued until another collective suicide brought it to an end.

While the Arevacans put up a brave but hopeless defense on the Castilian plains, near the modern town of Soria, there was another, equally stubborn, warrior, further to the west in Lusitania. His name was Viriato, and he was the first of a series of characteristic leaders who were to come to the fore whenever a crisis arose at the various stages of Spanish history. Viriato never fought a full-scale war, as he was not equipped for it; he fought what came to be known as "guerrilla" wars—a term which has now passed into international usage. Typifying Spanish individuality, Viriato never formed alliances with other peoples in

Below: the "barbarians" in Spain. The clean, polished profile of Trajan has been replaced by the crudely made seal of the Visigoth king Alaric.

order to form the great coalition which, alone, might have stopped the power of Rome. He fought on his own, and eventually fell a victim to his enemy's superior strategy and, in this particular case also, to their political power, since he was assassinated by officers who had been bought off by Rome.

However, this individuality, which prevented the Spanish peoples from uniting, to form an organized resistance to Rome, also greatly impeded Rome's extension of its control in the peninsula, because a victorious outcome to any particular battle merely meant that a single local group had surrendered, while the others went on fighting. By defeating Pharaoh, the Romans had won the whole of Egypt; a victory over Mithridates meant the seizure of the entire Middle East. Yet the Roman conquest of Viriato or Numancia gained for them quite a small piece of territory—after which they had to continue their struggle to overcome the rest. Whereas Gaul was subdued in nine years, it took the Romans two hundred years to win control of the whole of Spain. While the east coast of Spain, which, since the Phoenicians and the Greeks, had had more contact with foreigners, meekly accepted Roman rule, the Cantabrians and Asturians still went on fighting the attempts of the invading armies to organize their lives on a new pattern. The Roman historians wrote in amazement of the valor of the "barbarians," who, even when they had been crucified by their conquerors, continued to entone their war-cries.

The Roman occupation gave the country its present name—*Hispania* being the name used in Roman chronicles and documents for the country—and the appearance of unity. For the first time, the men of the north, south, east and west had a common language in which they could understand each other, the Latin which was later to produce the Romance languages—Catalan, Castilian, Gallican and Portuguese. Bridges, roads and aqueducts (such as the famous one at Segovia) were built, and cities came into being, with a consequent softening of manners, and greater mutual respect (after all, the word "urbane" does come from *urbs*, meaning city). Like so many other countries in Europe, Spain joined the Roman orbit, becoming involved in its civil struggles—both Pompey and Caesar were to seek a power base in Spain—but also formed a part of its culture. Soon there were writers and philosophers who, while Roman in spirit and citizenship, had been born in the colony of Hispania. These included Seneca, the philosopher, and Martial, the poet.

Spain later provided the Empire with Emperors such as Trajan and Hadrian. When Rome decided to abandon paganism in favor of Christianity, Spain went along enthusiastically, although, as had been the case in Italy, the city-dwellers, being better educated, were the first to embrace the new dogma from the east, while the country-folk remained devoted to their old gods. This fact produced the interesting etymology of the word pagan: *pagus*, meaning *land*, gave rise to the word *pagan*, meaning *non-Christian.* Here, as elsewhere in

Below: the Roman bridge at Cordoba. Civilization means communications, and the interchange of ideas and goods. Roman roads thus overcame the obstacles posed by rivers, in this case the Guadalquivir.

the former Roman empire, Roman came to be the equivalent of Christian. Curiously, the Arabic word *rumi* means both Roman and Christian.

The barbarians make Spain independent

The feeling of stability and greatness which prevailed throughout the Roman Empire, from the Elbe to North Africa, and from Lisbon to the Indian border, under the leadership of Rome, which provided both temporal and spiritual protection, was rudely shaken on the arrival of peoples from the north. Contemporary writers such as Idatius thought it was the end of the world. Whereas mankind had previously enjoyed the orderly control of Rome, a wise blend of force and benevolence, order and culture, it was now confronted with "Vandals, Suevians and Alans, who swept across Spain, looting and killing as they went." They were followed by the Visigoths, who eventually came to dominate the whole of the peninsula.

Roman unity was now supplanted by a mosaic of nationalities, of Central European origin; at first, their leaders were astonished at their own success and tried to appear to be acting on Rome's behalf in remote lands, rather than taking over from it altogether. The Hispano-Roman society which was the product of several centuries of Roman rule now found itself dominated by foreigners. Yet it was precisely those foreigners who were now to provide Spain, which already had linguistic and geographic unity, with something it lacked—a sense of nationality. The idea that the destiny of the country no longer depended on officials sent from far-off Rome and was not an instrument of the policies decided on by the Senators on the banks of the Tiber, together with the wholly new idea that taxes were no longer to be spent on financing wars in Mesopotamia, helped create a new feeling amongst the inhabitants of the peninsula. The change became more complete when the Visigoths removed

The coming of the Visigoths caused the classical line in the decorative arts to be replaced by the jumble of shapes in this crown, which belonged to Recesvinto.

two obstacles to *entente* among the Hispanic peoples: language and religion. The language of the Goths was to yield entirely to Latin, while the Arian heresy was to be abandoned by Raceredo I in favor of Catholicism—at which point Rome slipped into oblivion as far as Spain was concerned. In fact, when the successors to Rome, who were called the Byzantines, set up a beachhead at Malaga and Cartagena, they failed to win the support of a people which, for the first time, now felt that it belonged to a separate, independent nation. This was a nation in which the legacy of Rome—law, the Latin language, and political and administrative organization—combined with the Germanic traits to forge new bonds of loyalty and dependence which had been missing from the laws of Rome.

The attainment of the all-important national unity was a great credit to the Visigoths; yet their administrative organization had one basic flaw. This was the elective monarchy, which made it possible for any ambitious noble to aspire to be king. In his History of the Franks, Gregory of Tours wrote that "the Goths adopted this detestable custom whereby anyone dissatisfied with the king could merely dispose of him by force, and then they all acclaimed the individual of their choice as king." Between 414 and 711, there were, in this way, thirty-two kings—an average of seven years per king. In the worst of circumstances, kings were murdered by their successors, while the most benign kind of fate was that which befell Wamba, who was kidnapped during his sleep and woke up to find himself out of office, looking more like a mild-mannered friar than the warlike king he had once been. The Church, which had now become an auxiliary of the State, used to meet in Councils at which both civil and religious measures were adopted. This union, and its harmful effects, was to last several centuries; throughout this time, the Church had to bow to the instructions of whoever happened to be king at any given moment, and frequently, in so doing, acted against both ethics and the law.

Violent death, official corruption and what amounted, in many instances, to Church connivance in such wrongdoing, gradually undermined the confidence which the arrival of the Visigoth monarchy had aroused in the country. The monarchy pursued a very cruel anti-semitic policy, each individual king trying to outdo the others in persecuting the Jews, who, having come to Spain in Roman times, had become well-established in commerce, though they were not very numerous. At the 6th Council, Recesvinto went so far as to proclaim that "anyone who harbored heretical thoughts in his heart" would be persecuted—thus posing, of course, a difficult problem of detection. Ervigio ordered the compulsory baptism of all Jews, or exile and the confiscation of their property. What with the personal ambitions of the various nobles, the popular discontent with poor government and the existence of a powerful antagonistic minority, the stage was truly set for change.

That change was to come from Africa.

2 The Moorish Period

Islam

An Arabian camel-herder, a gifted leader, believed he had found the salvation of his fellow-countrymen, or *Islam*; hence the noun *Muslim*, one who carries salvation with him. This salvation was to be acquired by following an easily understood monotheistic doctrine: Allah is the only God, and Mohammed is his only prophet who was called upon to spread the good tidings. Abraham and Jesus were also prophets who had lived good, holy lives, though they were not, of course, equal in importance to Mohammed. The polytheistic Arabs quickly embraced a faith which required of them only a few simple practices: daily prayers facing the holy city of Mecca, a Lenten period called Ramadan in which they were obliged to keep themselves pure during the daylight hours, periodic ablutions, abstinence from alcohol and pork. In return for all this, the faithful were allowed four wives and all the concubines they could afford, together with hope for a paradise in which the thirsty Arab would find rivers of milk and honey, those who dreaded the blazing sun, cool refreshing shade, and those who longed for the pleasures of the flesh could expect to enjoy the company of dark-eyed *houris*.

The obligations which Mohammed required the faithful to perform in order to win all these advantages included the Holy War. Since theirs was the only true religion, it became necessary to persuade non-believers of its merits also. The desert-dwellers who, for centuries, had loved to make war, now had a more noble reason to indulge their bellicose appetites, as they would be fighting, not merely for booty, but in order to propagate their religion. Driven by this idea, the Arabs swept like an avalanche along the coasts of the Mediterranean. After some initial resistance, the peoples in their path grew accustomed to the new faith, and became its loyal advocates. Within a short time, Syrians and Berbers were quite as Muslim as the original Arabs themselves, although the Arabs preserved an aura of prestige, together with their own language—that of the Koran, or holy book—which was to become the official language of that varied world, just as Latin had provided a common bond for Christendom.

The westward thrust of the Muslim onslaught took less than a century to occupy the whole of North Africa, right up to present-day Morocco. Across the water lay a nation which was torn apart by dynastic squabbling; its current monarch, Rodrigo, was facing a grave challenge by the supporters of Vitiza, who claimed that the king was a usurper. One of them, Ulban, Ulian, or, in the language of the Christians, Julian, governor of Ceuta, helped the Moors to cross the Strait of Gibraltar. Rodrigo, the last king of the Visigoths, found himself abandoned at the height of the battle of Guadalete, by Oppa and Sisberto, the two supporters of Vitiza who were in command of the flanks of his army. The defenders were routed; in order to exploit the situation, Tarik called in new troops who landed quickly. The classical "Pillars of Hercules" now became the Strait of *Gebel-el-Tarik (Tarik's mountain)*, or Gibraltar.

The country was in a state of shock on hearing the news. A new religion had just defeated the representatives of the one, true Catholic faith. Writers sought to ascribe this illogical state of affairs to human weakness. The vices of the Visigoth monarchy—its frequent assassinations, and habitual treachery and dishonesty had become personified in the figure of Rodrigo, who quickly passed from history into legend. Then, there emerged a king who, failing to win the object of his desires, a woman called La Cava, proceeded to rape her. The unhappy woman's father was Count Don Julian, governor of Ceuta, who, in order to avenge this affront, opened the way for the Moors to enter Spain, by the straits. To heighten the interest of the legend, the last of the Gothic kings disappeared during the battle and, according to the poets, fled to some far-away place, where he died, stricken with remorse, in the company of a sympathetic hermit.

In contrast to this literary reaction, the political opposition to the invaders was zero. The Muslims took town after town, without ever encountering a new Viriato or a new Numancia. To some extent, the sense of national unity which the peninsula had acquired made the loss of a single battle by the king of the whole country a much more serious matter. Another factor was the enormous gulf which separated the monarchy and a people which was oppressed by the burden of taxes and lordly privilege, and which, moreover, had no political faith in the system. One should not forget that the fast pace of the Muslims' progress in Spain was also due, at least in part, to their wise policy of not seeking to change the most prized possession of the peoples of Spain—their religion. It was permissible to continue practising Christianity under the new régime although those choosing to do so had to pay a tax which was waived if they became converted to the faith of Allah—this being, incidentally, one more reason why the authorities were not over-anxious to convert them. Pursuing such policies, and with the

The harshness of the Visigoth period is here reflected in a contemporary relief in which Leovigildo defeats the rebellious inhabitants of a Cantabrian town, personally killing the leader of the defending forces.

support of the Jewish minority and of the groups which had been opposed to Rodrigo, the new invaders occupied the whole of Spain, granting autonomy in difficult cases, such as that of Teodomiro in the south-east. In six or seven years, the whole peninsula had been taken, and those areas which had not been directly occupied had also recognized their new masters and promised to pay the tax.

All that remained was a few mountainous and rather inaccessible outposts in the north, which, on account of their lack of wealth, hardly merited a determined campaign. Asturias was one such area.

Spain—one should perhaps say the Iberian peninsula—had developed from a loose collection of peoples to a province of the Roman Empire, and then had become a national, Visigoth state. The coming of Arab rule took it right back to its earlier status, as all the conquered lands now belonged to a distant overlord called the Caliph of Damascus. As had happened under the Romans, former soldiers were given lands which, in many cases, had once belonged to enemies who had resisted the invaders; besides such grants of booty, there were also many cases of outright confiscation, although most of the land remained in the hands of the original population, by means of the tax to which we have referred. Like the Romans before them, the Arabs settled the country; besides Syrians and people of pure Arab stock, they brought in large numbers of Berbers, the most recent converts to Islam resulting from the sweep across North Africa. As the new state gradually acquired its own identity, its bonds with the Caliphate of Damascus began to slacken; and in 756, Abd-al-Rahman proclaimed himself Emir of an independent state whose links with Damascus now consisted merely of the Islamic faith and the Arabic language, which was the language of a common culture and a vehicle for identification.

Pelayo; a new divine intervention

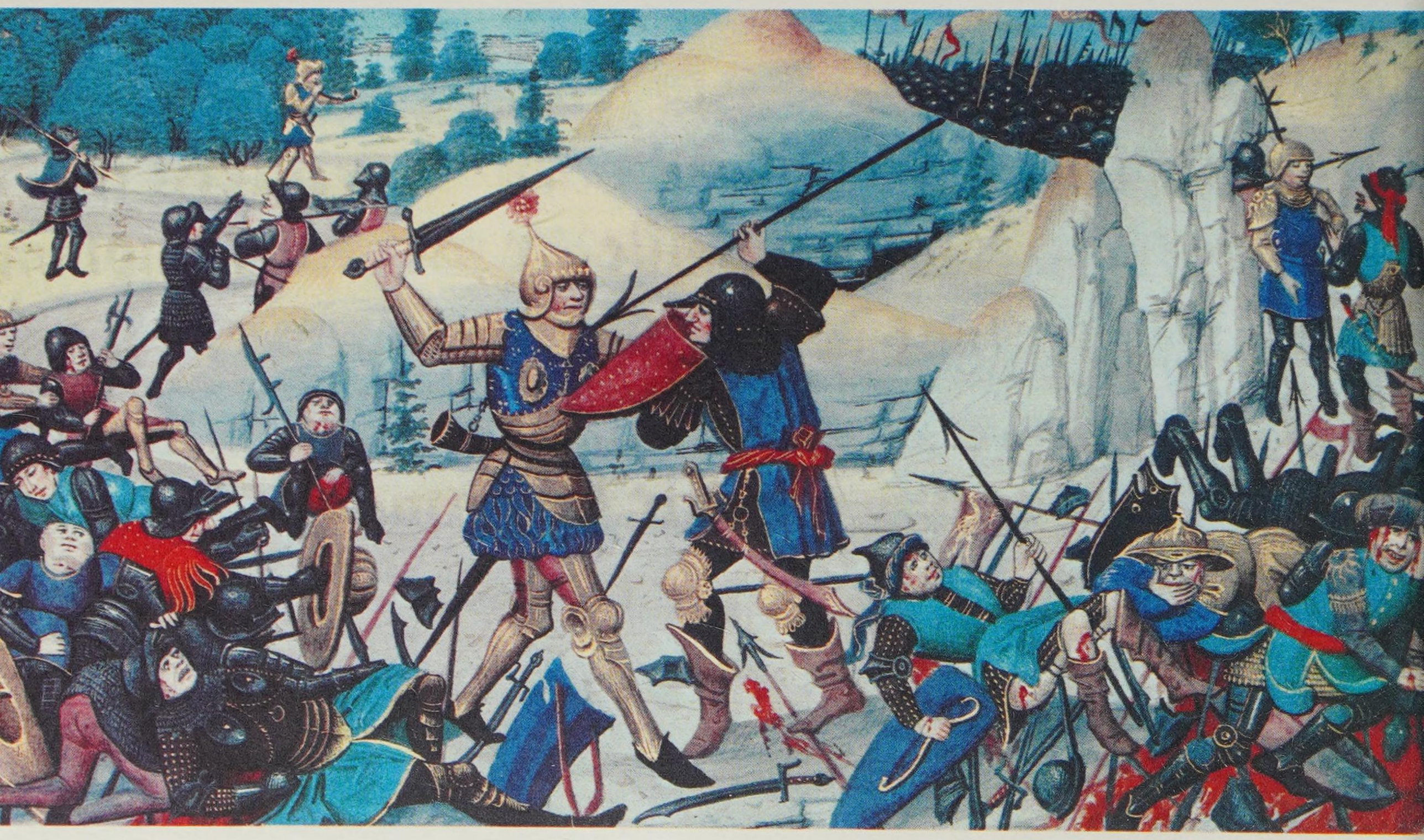
When Muza, from his base on the site of the modern Lugo, decided to limit his intervention in nearby Asturias to a reconnaissance expedition, without a full-scale occupation, he made the greatest mistake of his entire military career. Asturias lay far from the roads most commonly used

Below: Roncevaux, the battle which put an end to French aspirations to the leadership of Europe in the struggle against the Muslims, while at the same time providing the theme for a monumental medieval poem, the Chanson de Roland.

by the Arab armies; it was this remoteness which enabled the area to serve as a starting-point for the Christian counter-attack, the beginnings of what was to become known as the *Reconquista.* A minor Visigoth noble, Pelayo, counting on the Asturians' traditional hostility to foreign rule—after all, they and the Cantabrians had been the last to yield to Rome—incited them to resist the invaders. The Arab leaders naturally got to hear of this movement, but paid little attention to it, as a small enemy group in inaccessible mountain territory seemed to pose no threat to those who were masters of the whole of the rest of the territory.

Eventually, they decided to put an end to this persistent challenge to their rule. Their first offensive drove Pelayo and his men back to the cave of Santa Maria, the traditional Covadonga. Another offensive followed, in which the Muslims, boxed in along the narrow valley, found themselves under attack from higher ground, and had to make a hasty retreat. For Christian historians, the fact that the far weaker Christian force succeeded in defeating the powerful Arabs from their base in a sanctuary was palpable proof that God, after the warning at Guadalete, was not abandoning his people. The battle of Covadonga thus became the first chapter in the Reconquest, one in which the political (the resistance of the descendants of the Hispano-Romans and the Goths to an invader) and the religious were combined.

Islam was not overly concerned by this defeat; after all, it regarded Spain as merely the first stage in its conquest of the whole of Europe. What could now stop the triumphal progress of a nation which, in just over a century, had reached out from the sands of Arabia to the Pyrenees and the approaches to the Bosphorus? An Arab force accordingly crossed the Pyrenees and entered the fertile South of France. The resounding defeat of Abd-el-Rahman al Gafiqui by Charles Martel, at Poitiers, put an end to Muslim ambitions in the direction. Although Narbonne remained for



Below: The Koran prohibits the reproduction of human figures, thus severely limiting the choice of ornamentation available to Muslim artists. Instead, they used an infinite range of variations on geometrical shapes and they also drew heavily on the resources of the extremely graceful Arabic calligraphy in the decoration of these arches in the Mosque of Cordoba.

many years under the rule of the crescent, the main Muslim effort was thenceforth concentrated in Spain.

However, Pelayo put these years to good use: he created a kingdom for himself, and his name began to be known, far and wide, throughout the peninsula, as a threat or a promise, depending on who one was. After him, and the brief reign of his son Favila, Alfonso came to the throne; he was soon known to historians as Alfonso the First, being the first of a long series of kings who were to attempt something that must have seemed impossible in the year 739: the restoration of Catholicism in Spain and the expulsion of the Moorish invaders.

According to Menéndez Pidal, there were three quite distinct stages in the Reconquest. The first of these lasted from 720 to 1002. Although the Muslims were still in charge throughout the peninsula, small focal points of resistance began to emerge from Asturias to Catalonia, with the Duero as their frontier. From time to time, there was a reaction, rather as if a formerly wild beast, sensing danger, were to suddenly bare its fangs and lash out menacingly; for example, the offensive launched by Abderraman in 920 (Valde Junquera), or by Almanzor, in 997, which seized the holy city of the Christians, Santiago de Compostela, carrying off its church bells to Cordoba, on the backs of Christian prisoners-of-war. After each of these setbacks, the Christian kings were obliged to wait awhile; then, taking advantage of the Muslims' internal problems, they pressed on towards the sea. This period of probing lasted from 1002 to 1045.

From 1045 to 1250, the Christians launched a major offensive which culminated in the capture of Toledo by Alfonso VI in 1085 and the victory of

Below: According to the French the victor at Roncevaux was the Moorish king Marsilo, while in the Spanish version it was the legendary Bernardo del Carpio, a man of the mountains who took a dim view of the intervention of a foreigner. – Right: Alfonso VI, the king who gave enormous impetus to the Reconquest by taking Toledo. His Toledo School of Translators did much to promote an interchange of knowledge among the Arabic, Spanish, Latin and Greek languages.

Navas de Tolosa in 1212. Generally speaking, these were "regional" victories.

Spain had again become fragmented: the national illusion of the Visigoths had disappeared and rival factions were competing for power. Tiny Asturias had been supplanted by the new state of León, which was still attached to the Gothic dreams of the past. The men of the frontier area, where so many castles were being built, and which they themselves named *Castilla*, rejected the old institutions. Leon and Castille became separated; when they were eventually re-united, they were known as *Castille and Leon*, an entity in which the central state was predominant, and imposed its own customs and, above all, its language. In the northeast, the County of Barcelona soon merged with Aragon, to form another state which waged its own war against the Moors.

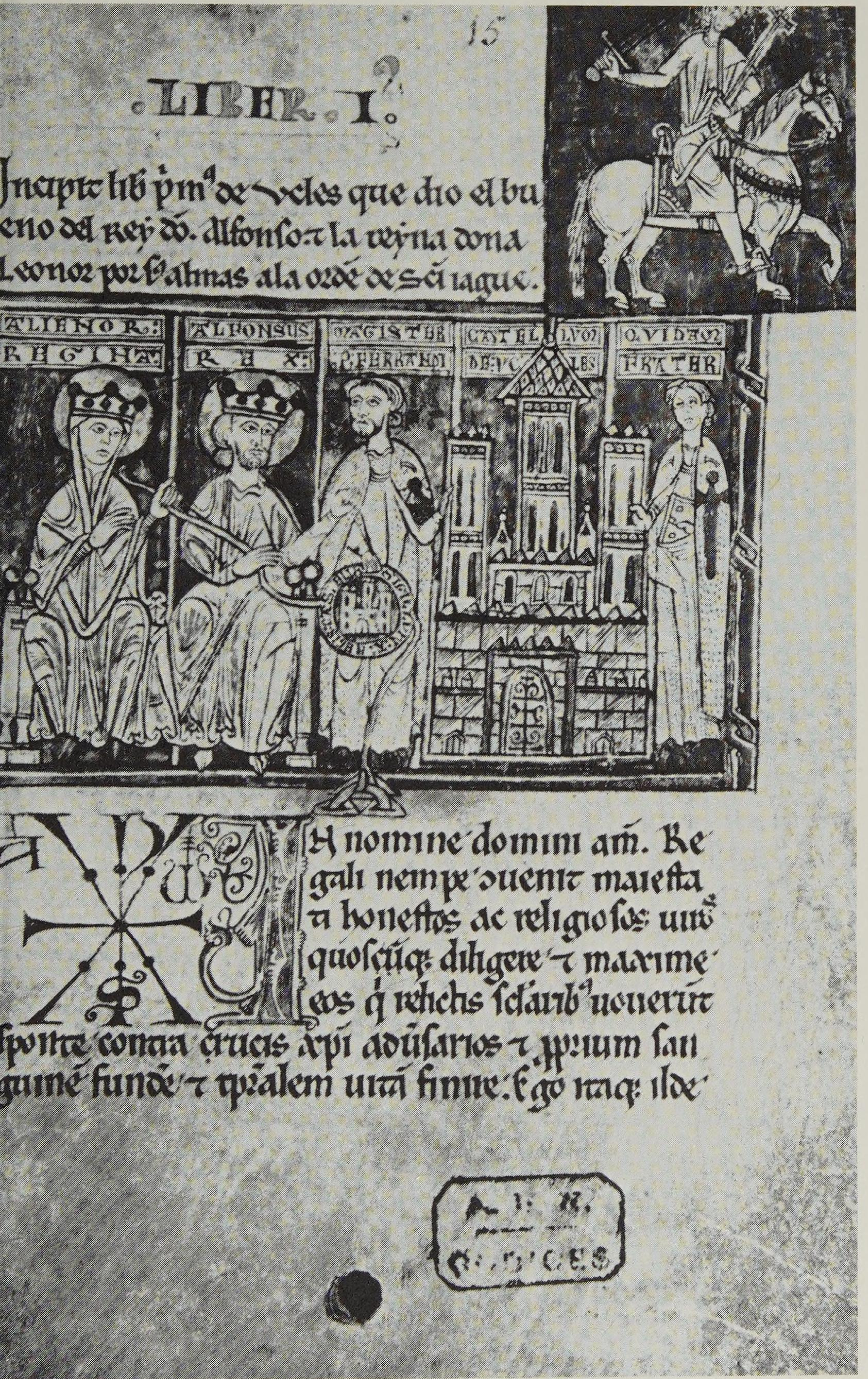
El Cid

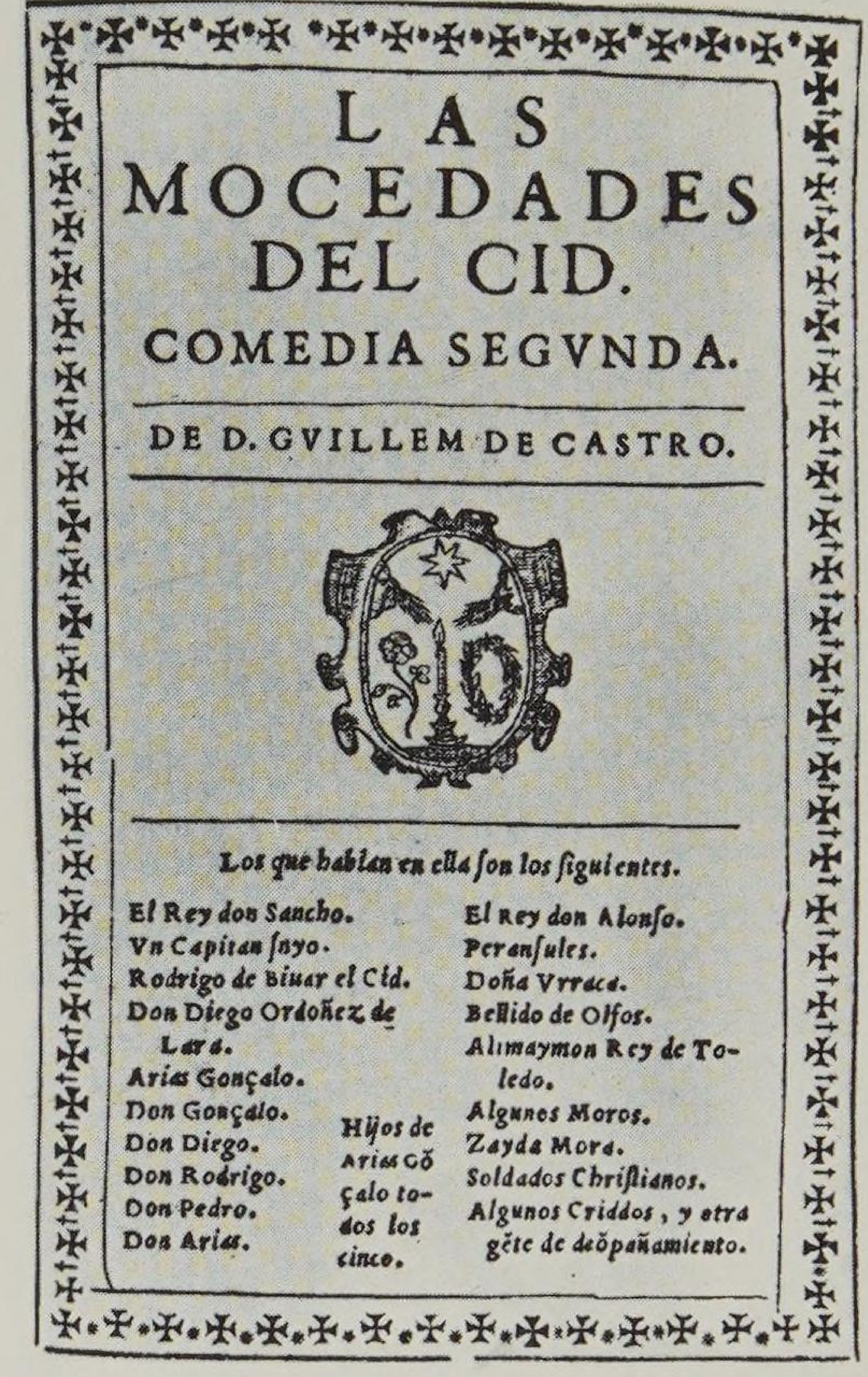
The new Castilian era was personified by men such as El Cid, Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar. They were minor nobles who now found themselves in a difficult situation. El Cid, who had been expelled from Castille by Alfonso VI, started on a career as a soldier of fortune which, after numerous feats of arms, culminated in the seizure of Valencia. When he died, the city fell into Moorish hands again, though, for a while, it had been held by the Christians, some time before James of Aragon appeared on the scene. Besides giving the story of his life, the anonymous author of the *Poema del Cid* also described the life of society at the time. El Cid fought nobly against his direct enemies, the Moors, and also against traitors within his own camp. These were the Leonese nobles of Carrion, the symbol of a decadent Gothic Spain which valued grandiose titles more than the warlike spirit; they had married El Cid's daughters for their money, and then, smarting from the charges of cowardice levelled against them by their wives, insulted them and abandoned them in a forest. The tournament, in which God apparently favors those who were in the right, and in which El Cid, through the divine justice, took his revenge, completes the picture of the society of his time.

The social structure of the day can also be clearly seen in the campaigns of Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar, who is a vassal of the king—a fact which he never forgets, despite royal mis-treatment of him on various occasions—but who is also the overlord of other vassals who follow and respect him, and among whom he shares the spoils of victory, so that they, too, may get rich with him. Military campaigns seem to have been very casual affairs, with a minimum expenditure of effort, in keeping with the custom of the age. During the siege of a city, those being besieged were sometimes allowed eight days' respite, pending the arrival of the help which had been promised them. Otherwise, the city surrendered and the lives of the inhabitants were spared. As El Cid exclaimed, on taking Valencia, "What shall we gain by killing all these Moors? It would be better to put them to work for us." The same attitude was evident again in the final Christian victory, the capture of Granada; however, intolerance was soon to become prevalent.

There were Christian Spaniards and Muslim Spaniards; both of them

Below: Besides the mature, judicious Cid, there was a young, hot-headed Cid (mocedades *=* youth) *who killed Count Lozano and married his daughter Jimena. It is the young Cid who appears in the work of Guillén de Castro.*





LAS
MOCEDADES
DEL CID.
COMEDIA SEGVNDA.

DE D. GVILLEM DE CASTRO.

Los que hablan en ella son los siguientes.

El Rey don Sancho.		El Rey don Alonso.
Vn Capitan suyo.		Peransules.
Rodrigo de Biuar el Cid.		Doña Vrraca.
Don Diego Ordoñez de Lara.		Bellido de Olfos.
Arias Gonçalo.		Alimaymon Rey de Toledo.
Don Gonçalo.	Hijos de Arias Gõçalo todos los cinco.	Algunos Moros.
Don Diego.		Zayda Mora.
Don Rodrigo.		Soldados Christianos.
Don Pedro.		Algunos Criados, y otra gẽte de acõpañamiento.
Don Arias.		

regarded Spain as their home, with equally valid reason, after living there for three centuries. Both of them, when in battle, were fighting a Holy War, which, in the case of the Christians, whose flag bore a cross, could well be termed a Crusade. Cruelty was common on both sides; indeed, the end of a battle was normally followed by the chopping off of the heads of the vanquished. Both sides fought with fanatical zeal as they firmly believed the promptings of their holy men—Christian priests and Muslim *fakis*—who had assured them that they would go to heaven if they died for their cause. The *heaven* of these two religions, of course, differed somewhat, but, nonetheless, did offer a certain reward for the hard struggle to ensure the triumph of religious principles. The "infidel" was always the enemy.

However, this was true only during

Upper left: A huge, Germanic statue of the Cid, full of self-confidence, in the city of Burgos, the base from which he set out on his campaign in Valencia. Below: Granada, against the majestic background of the Sierra Nevada, with the magnificent ramparts of the last Muslim bastion in Spain.

actual fighting, which took place in summer—the harvest time, when any army lacking logistic support could live off the land, though even that was not true every year. When there was no war, a continuous relationship existed, based mainly on the minorities who had stayed behind in occupied territories during the various phases of the war. These were the *mozarabes*, or Christians in Moorish territory, and the *mudéjares*, or Muslims in Christian territory; with few exceptions, these minorities were protected by the authorities where they lived and their customs were respected.

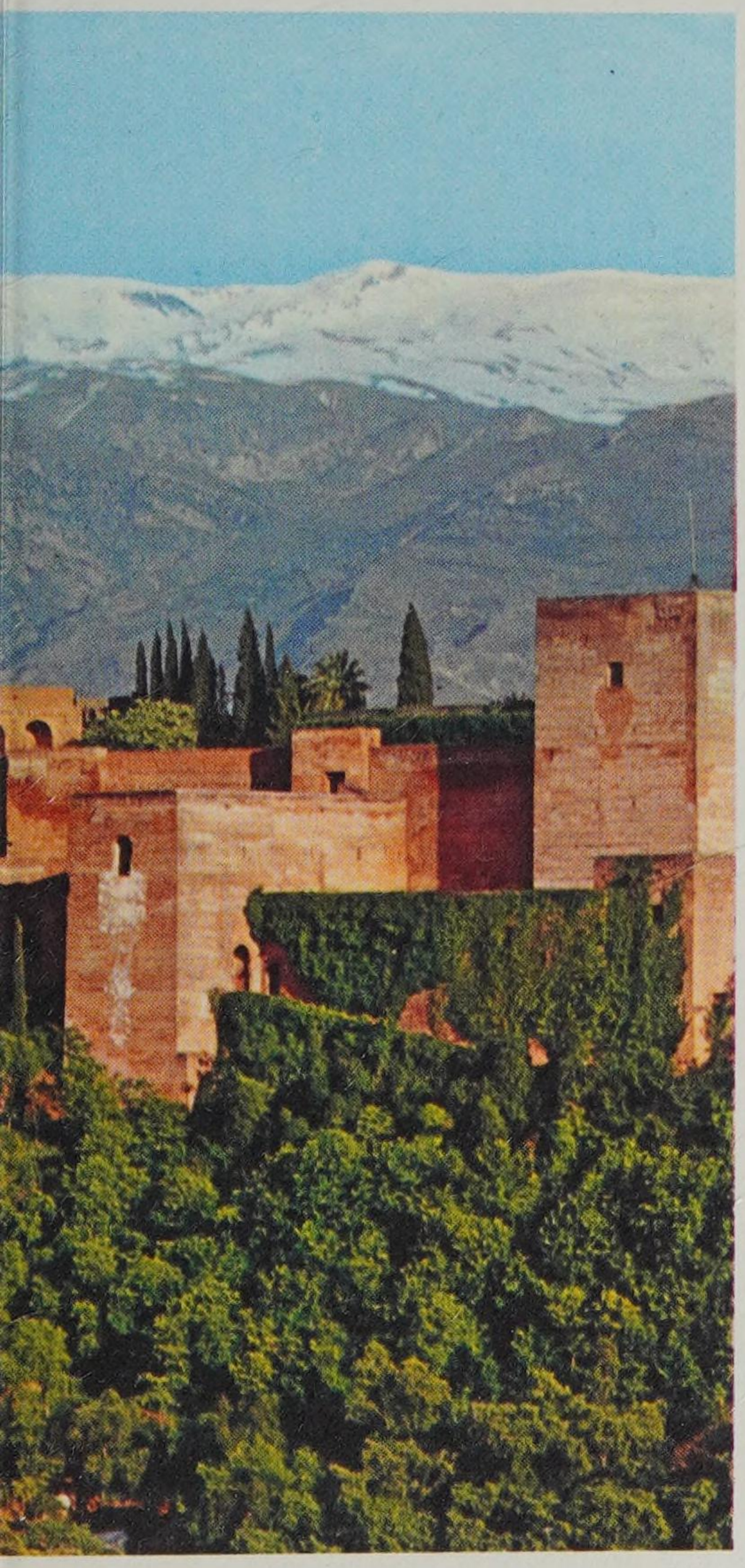
At the outer edge of society, as always, were the Jews, who were protected and persecuted by both sides from time to time. At the beginning of the Muslim invasion, they were held in high esteem, as they had helped bring it about. Later, with the coming of the religious fanaticism of the Almoravides and Almohades, they were expelled and joined the increasing number of people living in Christian lands. Their fate in their new surroundings varied; though generally it is fair to say that they enjoyed the favor and protection of the kings and great nobles, for whom they worked in administrative posts, while they were hated by the ordinary people, in whose eyes they were classed as money-lenders and merchants, who never soiled their hands with the tough work that had to be done in the fields. In the *Poema del Cid*, the Jews are depicted as living within the castle, where they felt more fully protected by the nobles, and as the owners of the hard cash which El Cid needed in order to pay the men who were going with him into exile. Rachel and Vidas, the Jews in the Poem, were tricked by El Cid, who left them as security for a loan a chest which he assured them was full of gold and silver, whereas it contained nothing but sand; such an episode was certain to bring vigorous applause from the popular poet's audience, as these verses were meant to be read out loud rather than read by the tiny minority of literate people.

In the Christian zone, the Jews were well protected until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when religious fanaticism began to grow; there were kings, such as Alfonso VII who boasted that he was the "emperor of the three religions." Later on, however, anti-Jewish sentiment

Monument erected in memory of the Cid Campeador, Rodrigo Díaz de Vívar.

increased. Fanatical friars stirred up a wave of anti-semitism which led to attacks on the ghettoes the murder of Jews and the sacking of Jewish properties.

Basically, it is true to say that Christian Spain relied on Europe and Muslim Spain on Africa and Asia. Militarily speaking, this is much truer in the latter case than in the former. The help the Christians received from beyond the Pyrenees was only slight, and was not entirely welcome. For example, when Charlemagne entered Spain, he won no military victories, and, on his way back home, his rearguard was torn to shreds at Roncesvalles, probably not by the enemies of his faith but by the Christian mountain-dwellers, who were not keen on the idea of getting rid of a Muslim overlord only to see him replaced by a Frank. The only effective help which northern peoples are known to have provided came at the time of the victory at Navas de Tolosa, in 1212, and, according to the chronicles, these friends did more damage to the area than the enemy. It is well to remember that, for much of the Reconquest, European Christians were engaged in warfare against Muslims from remote lands. Much of European Christendom took part in the Crusades, with the natural exception of Spain, which had its own crusade to finish. On the other hand, those Spaniards who believed in Mohammed frequently saved their military situation thanks to help arriving from the south, which restored the original puritanical and warlike virtues of the zealots who had invaded Spain under Tarik and Muza. After Alfonso VI had taken Toledo, in the center of the meseta, along came the Almoravides, the pure men of Yussuf, and drove the Christians back at Zalaca and Sagrajas. When the Almoravides had, in turn, lost their pristine vigor, and the Christians were posing a threat to cities as far south as Andalucia, the Almohades arrived and, with their victory at Alarcos, in 1195, succeeded in arresting the Reconquest for a time.



Culturally, however, Europe was penetrating Spain much more significantly, from the foreign merchants who had been called in by the kings to give the new cities commercial stability, to the samples of art from the north which followed the advancing soldiers southward.

The Romanesque churches, Santiago, San Isidoro de León, San Vicente de Avila, were gradually being replaced by another Nordic import—Gothic art. The groundplan of the cathedral of León was a copy of Reims, while the cathedrals of Avila, Barcelona, Santa Maria del Mar, etc., were all based on Gothic models.

European architectural styles were accompanied by new forms of worship. The influence of Europeanized kings made it possible for the monks at Cluny and the Cistercians to introduce the Latin rite, instead of the Spanish *mozarabe* rites. For many years, Latin was to be the official language, while Leonese, followed by Castilian and Catalan were used for ordinary conversation. The steady flow of Nordic princesses, marrying Spanish princes, was to provide a monarchy which often had distinctively fair hair and blue eyes.

Below: A Jewish scholar in the mixed cultural setting of medieval Spain: Maimonides explaining his lessons on the front page of a codex.

The Visigothic language was replaced by French. While it is true that this culture drew heavily on Europe, it also returned a great deal, through the Schools of Translators, at Toledo, established under Archbishop Don Raimundo. Thanks to this cultural service, the Greek texts which the Arabs had come across in their triumphant progress through the Middle East, and translated into their own language, were now translated into a European language, with the added benefit of the commentaries of the first translators. Europeans were thus able to read works by Aristotle, Euclid, Galen, Hippocrates, Ptolemy, etc., with notes by Avicenna, Averroes, Rasis, etc. The errors which occasionally crept into texts which had been translated twice—from Arabic to Castilian and thence into Latin—were insignificant when compared to the splendid cultural bridge provided by the linguistic unity of the Arab world at a time when the direct Athens-Paris route had been virtually destroyed by the wars and revolts which devastated Central Europe.

In art, Muslim Spain drew its inspiration from the Middle East. Its main features were the cupola—originally a Syrian idea, later developed by Rome—the horseshoe arch, and the slender column repeated so often as to give the impression of an internal forest. There are a thousand such columns, of jasper and marble, in the Mosque at Cordoba. As the Koran forbade the representation of human figures, much use was made, instead, of geometric patterns on stucco. Very often, the elegant stylized letters of the Arabic alphabet were used, so that quotations from the Koran might serve as decoration and religious message at the same time.

The fact that they were a desert people naturally made the Arabs intensely fond of water. In the Alhambra of Granada and the Generalife the subtle play of water is to be found in both the gardens and the palatial inner halls. The two most famous monuments left of Muslim art in Spain are an interesting reflection of the history of their builders. The Mosque, a bastion of faith, dates from the centuries of war, from the 8th to the 10th. This was the victorious period of Islam, when religion was more important than life itself. The Alhambra and the Generalife, luxurious palaces and residences, are from the 14th and 15th centuries, when the end of the Muslim occupation of Spain was fast approaching.

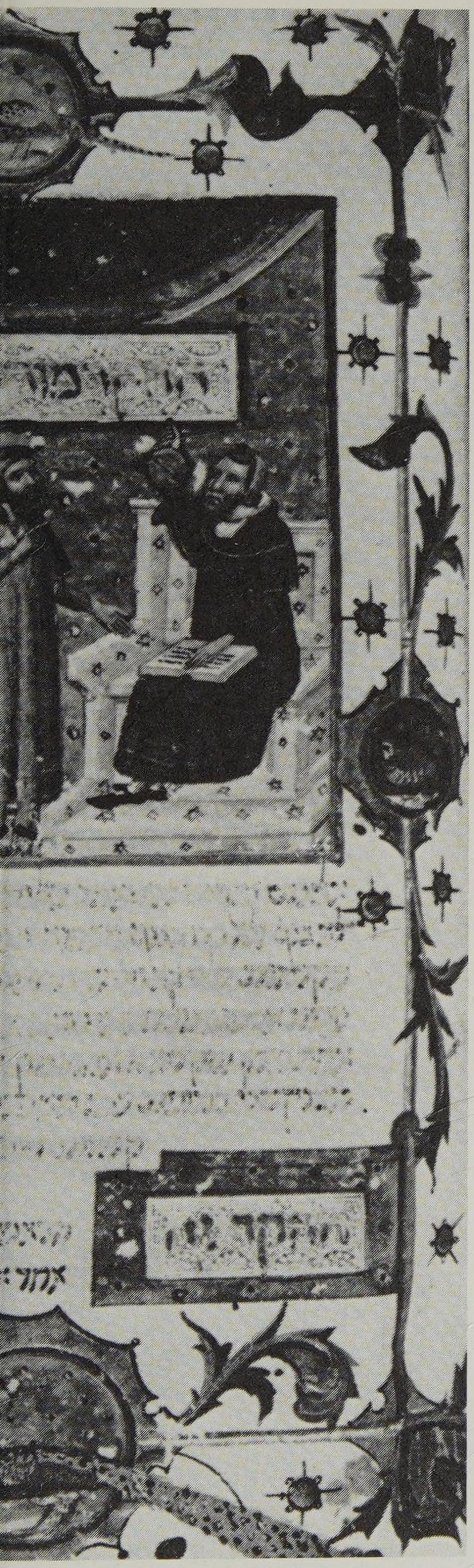
The meeting of the two civilizations is known as *mudéjar* art; craftsmen of the Muslim faith who, as a result of the Reconquest, now found themselves in Christian territory, built churches with a Christian ground-plan, but with purely Muslim decoration, of brick, gypsum and wood. A fine example is to be seen in the Towers of Teruel, and the Sinagoga del Tránsito, in Toledo.

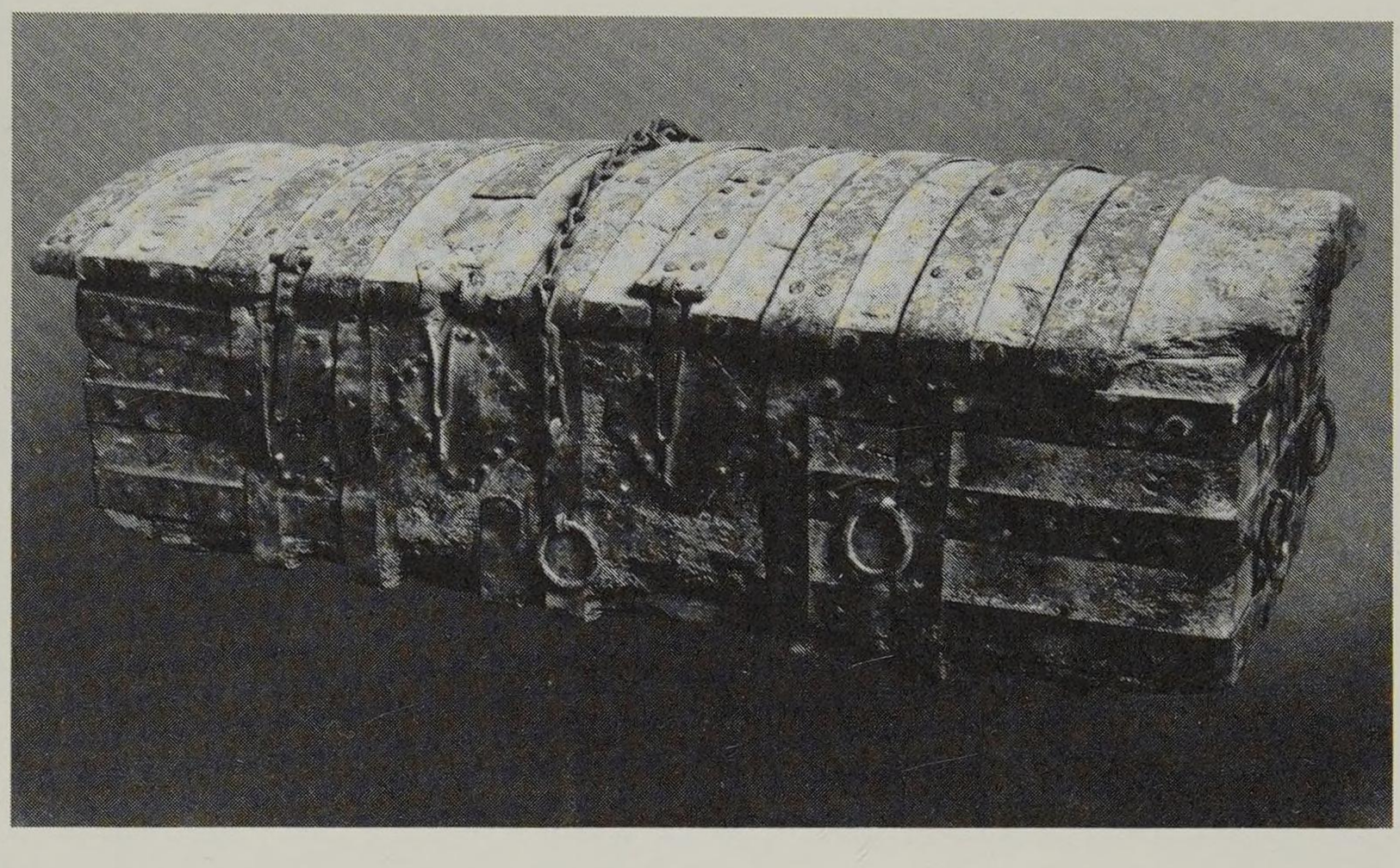
These are examples of the blending of two styles. However, when the two collided, the victor imposed his own view of things in a savage manner, as happened with the Christian cathedral set right in the middle of the Mosque of Cordoba, and which, fortunately, is virtually lost in its immense space. Also, the palace of Charles V, in the Renaissance, or Romanesque style, stuck on to the Alhambra, in Granada.

Arab influence

Four thousand words of Arabic origin are still in use in modern Span-

Below: El Cid's famous chest. It was handed over to the Jews Rachel and Vidas as collateral for a loan. According to the Cid, it was full of gold and silver; but it really contained sand. However, in those days, the fame of a distinguished warrior would not suffer as a result of such trickery.





ish, after an occupation lasting eight hundred years. These words are mostly connected with administration—*alcalde* (mayor), *aduana* (customs); construction—*albañil* (bricklayer), *azulejo* (decorative tile), *azotea* (flat roof); agriculture—*acequia* (drain), *noria* (waterwheel), *aljibe* (cistern); agricultural produce—*alcachofa* (artichoke), *zanahoria* (carrot), *berenjena* (eggplant); and war—*alférez* (ensign), *almena* (merlon on battlements).

Apart from the words themselves, much of the Arabic spirit permeated the country's culture. It is quite likely that the harshness of Spanish life which so astounded the Romans when they came to the peninsula was made even worse by the notion that one's religion, being the only true religion, justified the loss of one's life. The union of religion and political elements which still occurs in Muslim lands—for example, the king of Saudi Arabia is also the country's religious leader—later caused the Spanish kings to become zealous defenders of Catholicism as the State religion. The enemies of God—those who depart from the orthodox path—also became the enemies of the king and society, and had, therefore, to be punished.

In the customs of daily life, this divine presence is constant. Unlike any other Romance language, Spanish regularly uses the Arabic expressions *Ojala* (may God will it), from the Arabic *washa-al-Al-lah*, and "Dios os guarde" (lit. "May God preserve you") and "Dios os mantenga" ("May God keep you"). Spain also inherited from the Arabs its rather special notion of hospitality, which was a natural enough virtue to find among a people who lived in tents on the edge of the desert, and who regarded all those who came their way as being in need. The Spanish custom of offering one's food before beginning to eat it is also of Arabic origin.

From Arabic literature, Spanish literature acquired a fondness for metaphor from the Middle East; eyes can become "vessels," and the eyelashes "oars," and when the wind ruffles the surface of the water, it makes a "coat of chain-mail." This lyric form was to reach down to García Lorca, through Gongora.

3 The Reconquest of Spain by the Catholic Monarchs

The end of an era

The Muslim world gradually collapsed in the face of the Christian offensive, which was much faster in the west than in the east. Clearly, the Muslims regarded the fertile region along the east coast as much more important to them and defended it more vigorously; the progress made up the two Christian fronts was far from being synchronized, therefore. The Leonese Castilian Fernando III, for example, took Cordoba in 1236, whereas Valencia, which was much further to the north, did not fall until 1238. Sevilla surrendered in 1248 and Tarifa, at the tip of Europe, in 1291.

Castilians and Catalonians reached Murcia almost at the same time. The Treaty of Almizra, in 1244, entrusted the Castilians with the task of continuing the Reconquest throughout the peninsula, with two interesting results. The Catalan language now had the kingdom of Valencia as its last bastion, and the Aragonese forces, whose southerly progress had been arrested, now turned eastwards. After the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, they seized land in the kingdom of Naples, and even went on, more or less officially, as far as the Byzantine Empire, with the expedition of the Almogavars and the creation of the Duchy of Athens and Neopatrias.

Towards the end of the 13th century, the Reconquest of the peninsula seemed virtually complete. All that remained in Muslim hands was the kingdom of Granada which covered roughly the same area as the modern province of that name, Malaga, and part of the provinces of Cadiz and Almeria. Nevertheless, this epilogue was to drag on for another hundred and fifty years. The reason for this was that, once the main danger had been removed, the Spanish Christians began to fight among themselves as individual states—Castilla against Aragon or Vizcaya; or the members of various noble families started killing each other, as in the case of Pedro the

Opposite page: A forest of columns, like palm-trees brought from the countries of the East specially for the rites of Islam. Below: In Aragon, another distinguished monarch, James I, conquered Majorca and Valencia and did much to bring about the triumph of the Reconquest in eastern Spain.

Cruel, who murdered a brother and was, himself, killed by another brother. Then nobility had lost its respect for a monarchy which no longer commanded respect, and, as a Castilian *romance* of the period says, there were a thousand kings in Castille instead of one. Aragon, for its part, had social problems such as that posed by the peasants of Remensa, together with the disturbing proximity of France, which sought alternately to protect and to annex the kingdom.

The Catholic Monarchs

The proliferation of states which came into being early in the Reconquest gradually formed into two groups. At the beginning of the 15th century, Castille and Leon dominated the greater part of the west and center of the peninsula, with the exception of Portugal, and, reaching down as far as Murcia, surrounded the last Muslim stronghold, which was now limited to the modern provinces of Almería, Granada and Malaga. The eastern and Aragonese regions obeyed the king of that state, while the kingdom of Navarre, which was the subject of French claims, was quite isolated.

The two major powers of the peninsula, now swollen like rivers which have received the waters of numerous tributaries, were to unite finally in the marriage of Isabel, queen of Castille, and Fernando, king of Aragon. This was more than a love-match: it was an intertwining of interests, in which those of each contracting party and those of the state which they represented were to be kept strictly defined and separated. Right up till the 18th century, the kings of Spain were to swear allegiance to the laws of each of the kingdoms—Castille and Aragon—even though the two spouses, in their deeds, were guided by a single notion: the need to complete, strengthen and put into order their country, Spain.

For this purpose, they had to dominate the nobility, which, on account of the weakness of earlier monarchs, had become inordinately powerful and arrogant. The Catholic Monarchs created their own militia, and used a new weapon, artillery, to put an end, physically and symbolically, to the last stronghold of the medieval lords: their castles. Yet, on the other hand, that same nobility, which was still very strong, was offered a lure. They were invited to wage war on the Moors, with their own private armies and their own vassals; their internal squabbling was encouraged, so that each of them should strive, to their utmost, to outdo the others in valor and warlike qualities, and seize more towns from the Moors. In this way, the formerly independent nobles became courtiers, surrounding the king. In order to compensate them for their loss of political power, the Monarchs gave them greater economic power. The huge estates which still exist today in parts of Andalucia are often the result of royal concessions to those who had won them by their own efforts.

The political ingenuity of the Catholic Monarchs became evident in the conquest of Granada, in which conventional battlefield engagements

Below: St. Ferdinand III, king of Castile and Leon, dealt the final blow to Muslim rule in Spain by taking Seville and Cordoba. Bottom of opposite page: The time had come for the various Spanish states to unite, in the person of the Spanish Monarchs. Isabel and Ferdinand, on behalf of Castile and Aragon, joined forces to resolve the outstanding problems of the peninsula.

were complemented or replaced by manœuvers designed to divide the Muslims, who were already afflicted with a historical fatalism which had virtually predicted their downfall. On January 2, 1492, Granada surrendered. The clauses of the instrument of surrender were highly generous, and very much in keeping with the friendly relations which, despite the war, had existed between the Hispanic peoples. The people of Granada were to preserve their customs; moreover, no Christian was allowed to enter their houses without their permission.

Such a measure of understanding for other religions was to be totally lacking in the law enacted by those same Monarchs, later in the same year, 1492. In the light of the determined efforts being made by the Jews to change the faith of the Christians . . . "We, with the advice and opinions of certain prelates and nobles and men of substance in our kingdoms and other learned and judicious persons from within our Council . . . have hereby agreed to order all the said Jews and Jewesses to leave our kingdoms forthwith."

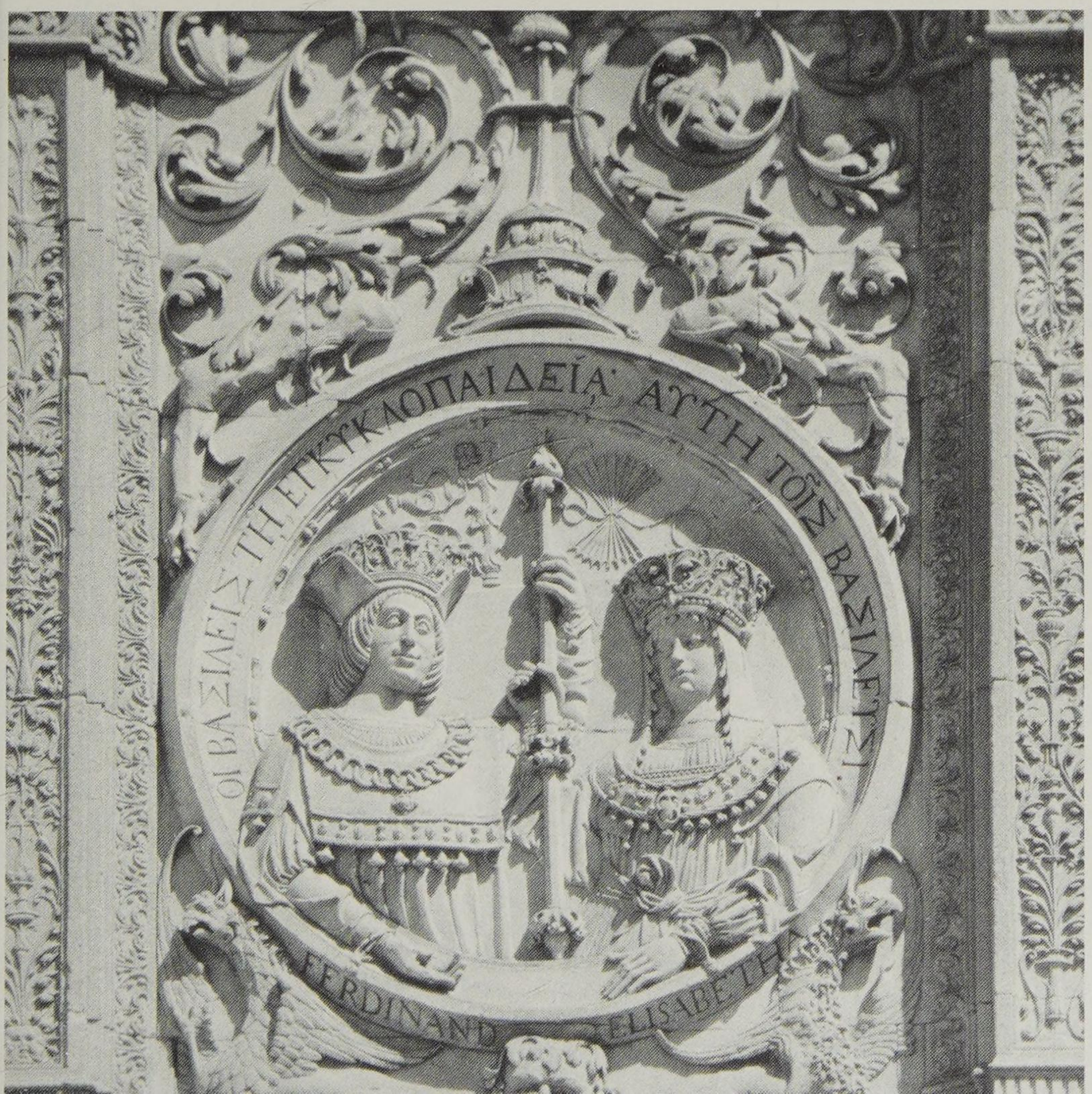
This wholesale expulsion of a race which had lived together with the Spanish people for centuries and spoke the same language as them, has often been compared to more recent events in European history. However, this comparison fails to take account of one vital distinction. The Catholic Monarchs did not expel a race, but a religion, because, in keeping with the thinking of the age, monarchs who had been put on the throne in order to protect their people, were equally obliged to defend their souls from contamination and their frontiers from foreign invasion. Converted Jews could stay, because they had blended with the population, thus ceasing to be a potential threat, in the form of a political or religious fifth column (at one stage, they had already helped the Muslim invaders enter Spain). A people such as the Spanish, which was made up of so many different types of blood, could hardly have the same sensation of race as might be felt by some others. Proof of this lack of discrimination lies in the fact that some of the men whom the Catholic Monarchs appointed to high posts were men of Jewish descent but of Christian religion, such as the treasurer Santangel, who suffered no persecution at all, even though he was in office after 1492.

The actual number of those expelled varies from one chronicler to another; according to Bernáldez, there were as many as a hundred thousand, though this seems rather high for the population of Spain at the time. Since those who left were the ones who were totally opposed to the idea of conversion, "the Rabbis came out and had the women and young persons sing, and play tambourines and timbrels."

Left: A famous soldier, Gonzalo de Córdoba, who changed the tactics of warfare by using the crossbow against the French cavalry in Italy.

Most of the Jews went to Morocco, while others went on from there to Greece and Turkey, where they continued to live in closed circles, faithful to their religious beliefs, but also to the traditions of Castille, where their forefathers had been born and raised. These Sefardic, or Western Jews, have thus succeeded in preserving, down to the present day, the Castilian speech of the 15th century.

"Within six months, all the Jews sold as much of their property as they could and then lavishly spent the proceeds; they married all young boys and girls aged over twelve years to each other, so that all their young girls would leave in the company of a husband." (Bernáldez: *Crónica de los Reyes Católicos*).



"Ea judios a enfardelar
que mandan los Reyes que paseis la mar"*

was a typical refrain sung by the minstrels to a delighted public. There were a great many legends about the Jews. The most typical one—which recurs, with variations, among the various Spanish-speaking peoples—was that they used to kidnap babies in order to re-enact the Crucifixion of Christ by nailing them to a cross.

The Inquisition

Known variously as the Inquisition, the Holy Inquisition, the Holy Office of the Inquisition, this was the one Spanish institution which has acquired the worst ill-fame outside the country—an institution which has been branded for ever as uniquely cruel, harsh and fanatical.

The Inquisition served a politico-religious function, combined with surveillance and investigation. The word itself is from the same root as *inquire*, meaning to ask and investigate; its prime function was to seek out and then punish those who, by professing a religion other than the State reli-

Though the expulsion of the Jews was barbarous and inhumane, it was a shrewd political move, on account of its popularity. All the Jews were merchants, sellers, landlords, administrators, etc.—hardly the type of person the common man could readily identify with; none of them were carpenters, bricklayers or laborers. The Spanish people regarded them not as fellow-sufferers in daily toil, but as a special class which somehow managed to benefit from the exertions of others.

* "Pack your bags, Jews; the Kings have ordered you to go overseas."

This page, right: Maimonides on his stone pedestal in Cordoba. Below: From the Alhambra, the city of Granada, seen through an ornate frame. Opposite page: When the power of the Inquisition was declining, in the 18th century, Goya painted this oft-repeated scene in which suspected heretics were interrogated while wearing a special garb on which flames were painted.

gion, were a threat to the national unity. In order to understand the Inquisition, one has to remember that an enemy of the faith was also an enemy of the nation. Muslim was the same as Moor; to be Jewish, as we have seen, meant that one was under suspicion of being a treacherous infiltrator; later on, Protestant was synonymous with "enemy of the Emperor." By hunting down these "malefactors," therefore, the Inquisition was serving two masters: the first of them was God, who could hardly stand by and watch human beings commit the sin of belonging to the "false" religion; and the other was the Sovereign, since the simultaneous existence of two religions broke the unity of his subjects, and exposed some of them to contagion. By and large, both Catholics and, later on, Protestants, were to use the medical metaphor: error is a cancer, a poison, a corruption, the remedy for which is prison, and, in serious cases, the purifying element which man has always regarded as supremely effective: fire.

Contrary to the assumption commonly expressed in pictures and words, the Inquisition did not burn its enemies directly. Having condemned them, it then handed them over to the secular branch, the State, which did this job for it. Such cooperation clearly indicates the common objective of the two authorities. Actual killing, whether done by beheading, hanging, garrotting or burning, was not the worst offense the Inquisition committed, as these forms of punishment

were extremely common in those days; the same is true of torture, which, though it strikes the modern ear as utterly repulsive, was then used in the interrogation of persons guilty of the most petty theft. The worst thing about the Inquisition was not so much its physical conduct towards persons, but its moral conduct, as it did not confine itself to the punishment of an individual's external acts, but it sought to scrutinize his innermost thoughts, hoping to find, in his habits, speech and reactions to public executions, evidence of heterodox thinking which had to be nipped in the bud before it had a chance to develop and pose a threat to the whole of society.

From this point of view, the expulsion of the Jews caused great concern among the men of the Inquisition, because, whereas before 1492, Jews had been readily identifiable and their doings easily monitored, after the expulsion decree the Inquisition probably had good reason to suspect that many Jews had become converted in appearance only, in order to protect their possessions and stay in the country, while continuing to follow their former mode of worship in the privacy of their own homes. "New Christians" therefore were instantly suspect; they were required to show the solidity of their faith by their behavior, speech and attitudes, and were always exposed to the possibility that some envious neighbor or resentful debtor might accuse them of not eating pork or of resting from work on Saturdays—two signs of a Jew.

There was another, even more serious, consequence. Most of the applied sciences and most technology, having been developed by Jews, now became suspect also, and were no longer studied. As a result, mathematics, chemistry and astronomy were almost totally neglected during the 16th and 17th centuries, though art and literature flourished. The experiments of Miguel Servet on the circulation of the blood thereafter came to fulfilment abroad.

The existence of a "new Christian," who was harassed and suspect, led to the emergence of an opposite type, the "old Christian," full of pride and swagger; however, poor he might be—and the inhabitants of Spain at that point in history could be really very poor—the "old Christian" could not fail to be superior to the rich man who has unclean blood in his veins. Examples can be found in literature of farm laborers addressing noblemen in the familiar "tú" form, as the noble's social rank was sullied by the possibility of his having married a Jewess whose wealth had obscured her origins. This notion of "pure" origin, plus the fact that the king of Spain was the master of much of the known world, accounts for the extreme pride which foreign visitors were astonished to find in even the lowliest Spaniards.

4 A world-wide Empire is born

Columbus's amazing adventure

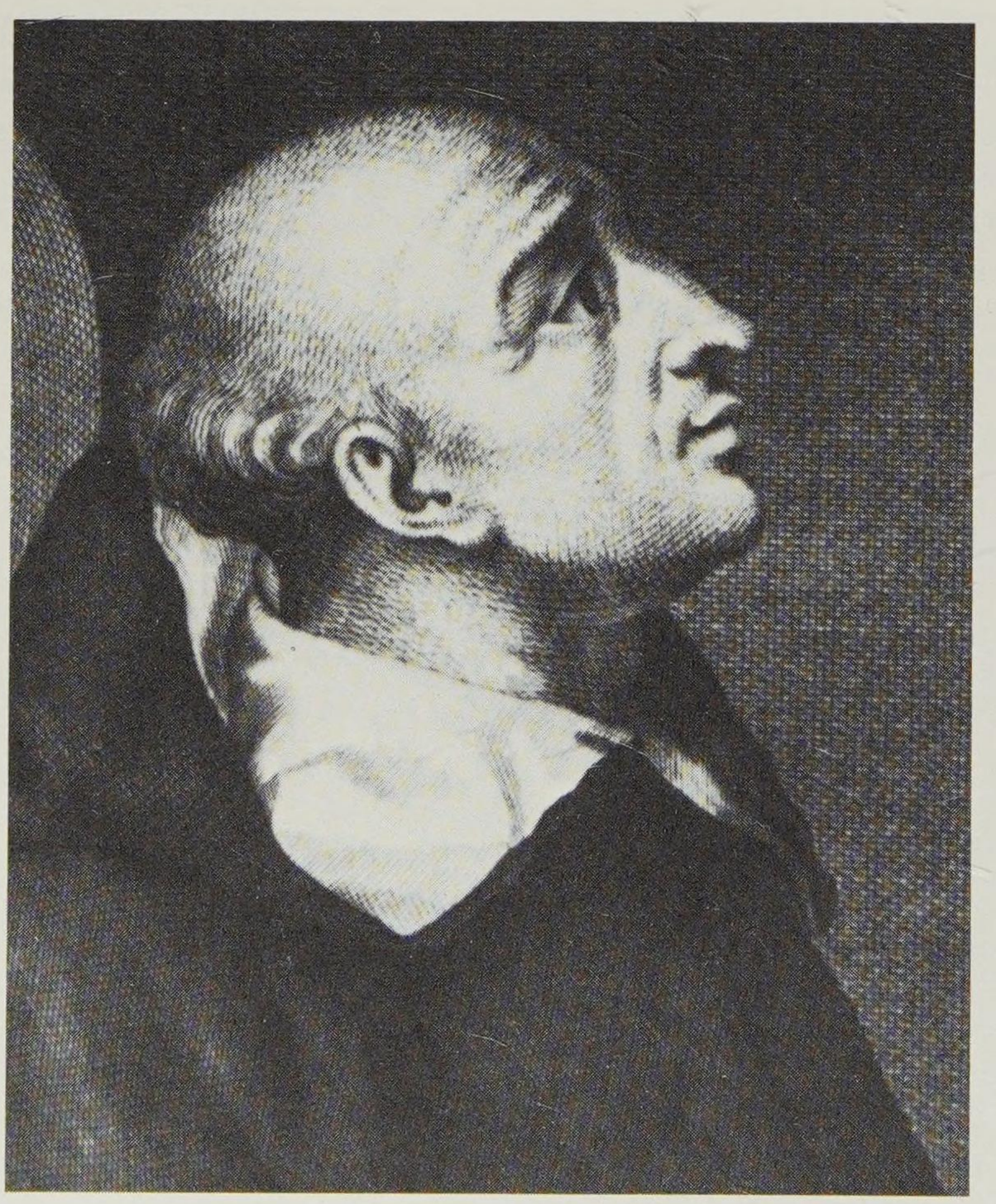
"Then they saw naked men running about, and the Admiral jumped ashore from the armed boat, and Martin Alonso Pinzon and Vicente Yañez his brother were in charge of the "Niña."

". . . The Admiral summoned Rodrigo de Escobedo, the clerk of the fleet and Rodrigo Sanchez de Segovia, and asked them to witness, in good faith, his formal taking possession of this island in the name of the King and Queen, his masters."

So ends the accounts written by Las Casas of the amazing adventure of Christopher Columbus—and so began the amazing adventure of the American continent.

Both adventures are indeed curious. A middle-aged man presented himself at the court of the Catholic Monarchs, asking for help to take the shortest route to India, the western route, promising to discover new lands, which could mean increased revenues and possessions for the Monarchs and more souls to save for heaven. The man's name was Christopher Columbus; he claimed to be from Genoa, though his written and spoken Spanish showed more Portuguese than Italian influence. As night be expected, the Monarchs referred him to their technical experts to whom he presented his plans, but without any firm guarantee of success. In exchange for some rather vague promises, he requested nothing less than the title of Admiral of the Great Ocean and a share of whatever booty might be conquered. The second of these demands was reasonable enough; as Santangel said to the King: "If he finds nothing, his percentage comes to nothing; and if he does find something, then it is worthwhile giving it to him"; the first, however, was certain to cause a scandal in a society which was deeply rooted in privileges of rank. The title of Admiral was one of the most ancient and most prestigious in the kingdom of Castilla. How could one possibly confer it on a total stranger, whose family background was quite unknown?

For seven years, Columbus and the Monarchs played a tense game. The tenacity and the inspiring presence of Columbus won him many supporters who acted on his behalf when, out of sheer disillusionment, the Genovese



Opposite page, left: Juan de Torquemada, the chief of the Inquisition. He honestly thought that the salvation of Spain required the destruction of the enemies of the Catholic faith. Opposite page, right: Ferdinand of Aragon, the Catholic king. The personalities of the two Monarchs were much more similar than is sometimes claimed. Below: The "saga" of Spanish conquest as seen by Herrera. Vast territories discovered, settled and brought into a Western orbit between 1492 and 1531.

decided to quit and try another, more understanding, monarch, somewhere else. Whenever the Monarchs agreed to hear the claimant's case, he duly outlined his projects, but always kept one card in reserve—the card which was absolutely convincing and definitive. The truth of the matter was that Columbus knew the way to the New World because *he had already been there.* One cannot be entirely certain about it, but the proof might lie in the phrase inserted in the Santa Fe act of cession, between the Monarchs and the navigator, "of what he had discovered in the ocean seas." Logically, this would explain both the earlier doubts and the unusual speed with which the decision was eventually taken. For seven years, Columbus had refrained from disclosing his triumphant secret because, being a foreigner with no funds, he was afraid that someone else would come along and exploit his idea, leaving him high and dry. Inventors and discoverers throughout history have shared this fear of his. When he realized that he could achieve his aims in no other way, he took a chance and showed his hand. Less than six months later—a period which was quite unheard of in the administration of those days—he had got his three ships, with crews to man them and first class pilots to navigate them (the above-mentioned Pinzones brothers) and he set off. On October 12, the New World was born. Columbus landed where he had intended to land, and called it the Indies, though it was in fact, a long way from India.

The venture which grew out of this exploit is the most important accomplishment of Spain's history, and ranks among the greatest of all time. The Catholic Monarchs received great moral support and encouragement

Convento de la Rábida; *it was here that Columbus paused briefly in his life of adventure, for rest and meditation, before going back to port and becoming an Admiral of the Great Ocean.*

from the Papal Bull of 1494, whereby the hitherto unknown parts of the world were virtually shared out between Castilla and Portugal, which were the countries most able to discover and colonize these new lands. Thus strengthened in their purpose, the Monarchs sponsored numerous expeditions, in addition to the many private expeditions to areas not covered by official plans, and which were allowed to do so in return for their recognition of the royal authority over the conquered regions and the payment of a *décimo real*, or royal tenth. A series of bases served as the point of departure for subsequent ventures. From Hispaniola (now divided between the Dominican Republic and Haiti), the Spanish went on to Central America (Nicuesa and Columbus himself); to Puerto Rico, with Ponce de León; to Columbia with Bastides; Venezuela and the Guayanas with Ojeda. From a new base called Cuba, they moved on towards Florida (Ponce de León) and Mexico (Cortes). Then, from Mexico north to California (Mendoza) and south to Guatemala (Alvarado). Then on to Peru with Pizarro, who, in turn, was to send Almagro on to Chile. When Solis reached what is now Argentina, he established a new springboard. Ayolas seized land and set up a new base in Paraguay. The entire continent was criss-crossed with exploratory trails, to such an extent that an expedition from the north under Quesada and another from the northeast with a German in the service of Spain, reached Bogota at the same time as Benalcázar, who was coming from Ecuador.

All of these journeys of discovery, which took place between 1492 and 1539, when Orellana discovered the Amazon, are still impressive even today, on account of the extreme difficulties which they involved. It was all done on foot, or with the help of a few horses, against a perpetually hostile nature and the resistance, in many cases, of the indigenous peoples.

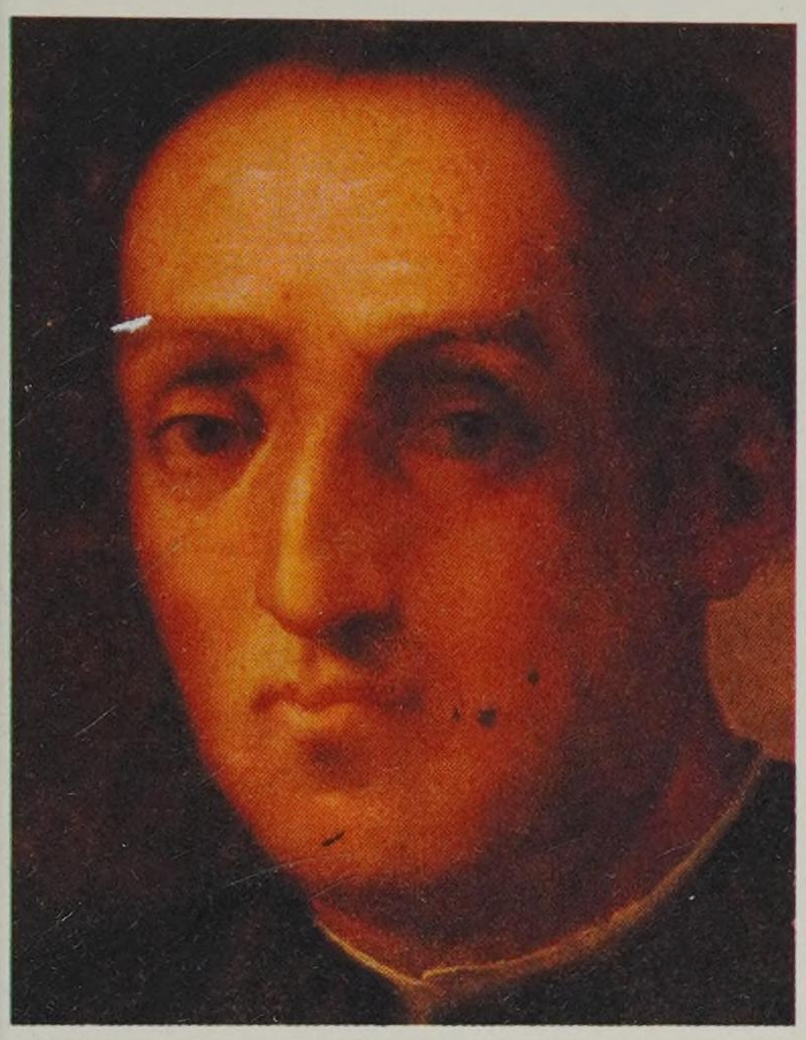
Together with the Inquisition, the exploration of Latin Amercia, by virtue of its sheer magnitude and its permanence—almost 350 years of Spanish presence in a whole continent—is the main component of anti-Spanish sentiment in the world. The so-called "Black Legend" was inspired mainly by a series of prints published in the Netherlands in the 17th century, and which depicted the Spanish in the Indies as engaging solely in killing the natives, after the most varied forms of torture. The relative novelty of the printing press at that time, and the wide publicity given to such prints, which could reach the illiterate majority, conveyed an impression which was further emphasized by the leading presses of the day, in the Netherlands, Germany, England and France.

This explains the birth of the "Black Legend," according to which the killing of natives, the looting of gold and the destruction of perfect civilizations such as those of the Incas and the Aztecs, were the sole occupation of the Spanish in the New World. Spanish opinion countered this impression with the "White Legend," which showed the Spanish taking Christian civilization to remote lands, putting an end to the barbarous religions of the natives, who used to cut the heart out of their enemies' bodies and eat it raw; Spain was seen as the builder of universities, cathedrals and towns, from the present territory of the United States as far south as the Magellan Straits. Moreover, unlike the English, who despised the local people, they inter-married with them, thus giving rise to a new race.

Christopher Columbus, or the mystery of an adventurous life.

One of the few intellectuals among the Conquistadors: Hernan Cortes, man of letters from Extremadura.

Francisco Pizarro, who, as a young man, was a swineherd in Extremadura.



The Black Legend was probably as highly exaggerated as the White Legend. Gold-crazy Spaniards from the lower classes, eager to get rich quick, were not the only type of person entering the New World; there were also dedicated, self-sacrificing priests, some of whom, like Las Casas, went so far as to confront the powerful *encomenderos*, in their efforts to improve the lot of the Indians. The real problem lay in the vast difference between the two philosophies: the Western way, based on the notion of work, had to be imposed on natives, such as the Caribs, who did not need to tire themselves unduly in order to get their daily food and adequate shelter—all of which was, in any case, already provided by a gentle Nature. In cases such as the Aztec or Inca Empires, the Indians merely shifted from one form of slavery to another, with the added disadvantage, under Spanish rule, of having to do the hard work of the mines. The Spanish Monarchs could keep issuing their annual appeals for good treatment for the natives, as often as they liked, and even give them legal force, as in the *Leyes de Indias*, of 1542; but the same batch of mail to the Indies might, at any time, contain urgent appeals to the viceroys to send gold and silver which would then be spent on absurd European wars which never seemed to end. These instructions could hardly be fulfilled without neglecting the whole question of good treatment for lazy Indians.

On the credit side, the Hispanic intervention in the New World did leave a whole continent with a single language which is spoken from Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego; the resulting ease of communication has benefited a huge range of people, from the peasant who might emigrate from one country to another, to the writer, whose works can reach millions of people of different nationalities. Also, it provided a single religion, thus sparing the Latin American continent from the terrible religious wars which devastated Europe and India. An experiment which lasted three and a half centuries had to have a fairly solid core.

The economy

There was an economic error which the Catholic Monarchs inherited from the Middle Ages and, instead of changing it, merely perpetuated it: their policy of favoring animal husbandry over agriculture. Centuries of military campaigning to and fro across the peninsula had already done incalculable harm to agriculture, as the rival armies' first act in any given region was to destroy all the crops and chop down any tree which might provide sustenance or shelter to their enemy. Now, however, there was another enemy to be reckoned with—one which, even though not armed, proved to be even more harmful. This was the Mesta, the livestock association, to which the Monarchs transferred all their rights-of-way throughout the national territory, granting them, in other words, the right to destroy any sort of vegetation on the path followed by their herds or flocks as they moved from their summer pastures—Soria, Leon—to those which they used in the winter, in

Below: Gonzalo de Córdoba, known as El Gran Capitán, *here seen in an uncharacteristic pose.*

Opposite, left: Joan the Mad, daughter of the Catholic Monarchs. Opposite, right: Philip the Fair, who brought the House of Austria and Habsburg to Spain.

warmer parts of the country. On the way back, the sheep were sheared of their wool, which was then exported to Flanders or England, whence it later found its way back to Spain in the form of textiles for which the Spanish consumer had to pay high prices. It was, in other words, a thoroughly ruinous business operation, in both ways. Yet the government was more interested in the immediate selling of wool than in agriculture, which, over the longer run, was more profitable. This obsession with ready cash, with *liquidity*, as we call it today, was to last throughout the 16th century, because money was constantly required to finance wars which, in actual fact, were of no importance to the country.

During the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, however, trade, which has always traditionally flourished in times of political and social stability, did very well. Although the various parts of the Hispanic Union still had their own currencies—for example, the Castillian *real* was not worth the same as the Aragonese *real*—it was now possible for a merchant to send his products to other towns, without any fears about highway robbery. The Santa Hermandad, the first highway patrol set up in Spain, had detachments in most of the major towns, and was authorized to hang the first thief they found from a tree, or leave him riddled with arrows, as a warning to those who might be contemplating a piece of banditry themselves.

Foreign policy. Strokes of genius which came to nothing

The foreign policy of the Catholic Monarchs was based on two clear and logical concerns. One of them was to confront Spain's natural enemy, France, which had reached statehood about the same time, and which had a pawn actually inside Spanish territory, in Navarre. The military strategy of Ferdinand and Isabel involved seeking possession of the ownerless piece of territory which, by virtue of its internal weaknesses, was highly typical of the Italy of that time. Through the strategy of the Great Captain, Fernández de Córdoba, the kingdom of Naples was to remain incorporated for two centuries to the Spanish throne. In 1512, Navarre became incorporated to the Spanish state.

Pursuing their political strategy in the same anti-French spirit, the Monarchs arranged the marriage of a daughter, Catalina, to Henry VII of England, and, after his death, to his brother Henry VIII. Another daughter, Juana, was to marry Philip the Fair, son of Maximilian, Emperor of Austria, who, as Duke of Burgundy, also occupied a dominant position along the north-east frontier of France. In order to ensure the success of this plan, Margaret, Philip's sister, married Juan, the sole heir of the Catholic Monarchs, who might also receive the country situated to the west, because María, the other sister, was the wife of Manuel, king of Portugal. The scheme was perfect. Perhaps its very precision did not make due allowance for human weakness. Henry VIII left Catalina for Anne Boleyn. Prince Juan died—reportedly because of his wife's amorous ardor—the Portuguese inheritance was thwarted, and the inheritance eventually went to Juana, who was already known as La Loca ("The Mad"), with Prince Philip as consort. Their son, Charles, was to be the new king of Spain.

With these developments, the country, which had only just acceded to real statehood, was to embark on a path which was as extravagant as it was dangerous—the path of Empire.

5 Charles the Fifth

Charles—King or Emperor?

In one of their dynasty-building moves, the planning of the Catholic Monarchs went further than they thought. The wedding of Juana La Loca and Philip the Fair was meant to contain and intimidate the King of France, who was now encircled from the south, east and north-east. However, the death of Prince Juan caused the crown to be passed to Juana La Loca, wife of Philip the Fair. The throne remained in the hands of Ferdinand of Aragon, as Regent; Castilian antagonism towards Aragon re-emerged, and Ferdinand married Germaine de Foix, in an attempt to deny his son-in-law at least one ally. If the marriage had produced offspring, the union of Spain would have been shattered once more. That did not happen, however; when Philip the Fair died, while still quite young, Ferdinand succeeded in maintaining a semblance of unity, and, through Cardinal Cisneros, thereby ensured that the throne should go to a prince who had been born at the turn of the century.

Officially, Charles was to have governed with his mother, Doña Juana; however, her faculties were highly disturbed by the death of her husband, whom she had loved dearly and who had caused her pangs of jealousy on more than one occasion. Charles did not speak Spanish, and arrived surrounded by Flemish advisers who promptly set about selling off the royal favor to the highest bidder. As if that were not enough, the young prince immediately requested large subsidies in order to pay for costs of an election—an imperial election. His grandfather, Maximilian of Austria, had died, and Charles' deputies to the Cortes of La Coruña, particularly Doctor Mota, Bishop of Badajoz, regarded this as an excellent opportunity. His influence was such that the subsidy was voted, but the deputies who passed it, when they returned home, ran into the most vehement

The splendid façade of the Casa del Cordón, *pure Renaissance in the old Spain.*

opposition from the electorate, who were further incensed by the news that another foreigner, Adrian of Utrecht, would be in charge of the government during Charles's absence. The armed rebellion known by the name of Comunidades then broke out. In their long and rather diffuse petitions, there are two main points which were constantly hammered home: posts should not be given to those who had not been born in Castilla, and that no gold or silver should leave the kingdom and that the representatives of the people convened in the Cortes, should be the ones to decide whether any given war was just and necessary, it being henceforth insufficient for the king to determine these matters himself by means of a decree. The royal authority was also diminished, as he was not to be allowed to appoint Corregidores directly; they had to be elected from among a group of *hidalgos* (noblemen) and *labradores* (working men, laborers), voted by the people.

This manifestation of the community spirit has since been regarded as a first manifestation of social rebellion against the power of a single man; while according to another opinion, it was the last effort of an almost reactionary medieval spirit, against the notion of the modern state, represented by Charles and his men. It is now evident that it was really a move by the local nobility from which its leaders, Acuña, Padilla, Bravo and Maldonado, were drawn, against the court faction. The common people, as such, were not really represented in it at all, as the term *labradores* could be loosely used to denote those who, while not noble, were nonetheless rich. The Comunidades movement collapsed for three main reasons: a) because, having failed to find favor in the disturbed mind of Juana La Loca, it lacked a leader of the right kind of caliber to take on a grandson of the Catholic Monarchs; b) because the would-be leaders of the movement could not agree among themselves; and c) because the political revolution was accompanied by a social revolution, most particularly in the movement of the Germanias de Valencia which shocked many of those who were firmly opposed to the drain on the country's money and to foreign influence in Spain.

The faction which supported Charles also included a group of intellectuals who, being thoroughly devoted to the ideals of the Renaissance, which were then very much in fashion, were thrilled with the thought that a king of Spain might acquire the grandiose title of Emperor. Byzantium had tried vainly to keep the title alive after the fall of the Roman Empire; it had then been revived by Charlemagne, and, now, after elections among the German princes, had been bestowed on Charles I of Spain, henceforth known as Charles V. Antonio de Guevara wrote some rather clever letters in which he accused the Bishop of Zamora, Acuña, of deceiving his followers by promising them that the Castilian cities would be free, enjoying a special status like Venice, Florence and Siena, in Italy. Like other writers of his time, he played skilfully on the pride of his compat-

Clad in ermine, Philip the Fair and his wife Joan the Mad (Juana la Loca) receive petitions.

riots. What greater honor was there than to have one's king the head of the civilized world—a new Caesar?

The battle of Villalar, in which the Imperial cavalry easily disposed of a disorganized group of civilians, put an end to this problem; however, this revolution, though defeated, simply would not go away. Charles was to learn his lesson and foreigners gradually lost their influence in Spain. He himself, having arrived unable to speak Spanish, became progressively more and more Spanish, and eventually chose, as his last resting-place, the mountainous country around, Yuste. Charles I would probably have made quite a good king of Spain, dedicated to the country's progress, and its authority among the nations.

The trouble was—as the Comuneros rebels must have dimly felt—that his assumption of the title of Emperor meant that, besides the crown of Spain, he now had to bear a supra-national responsibility. The Emperor had been anointed in Aquisgran; one of the oaths he had to take said: "Will you faithfully care for and defend the Holy Church and its ministers?"—whereupon Charles of Ghent replied "I will." He knew that this would involve defending the Empire from a Mohammedan threat then represented by the Turks. He did not, however, realize that he would have to protect Catholicism, which he had sworn to uphold, against an internal threat which was beginning at the very moment his coronation was taking place.

Charles was crowned Emperor in 1520. In 1517, an Augustine friar named Martin Luther had nailed on the door of Wittenberg Cathedral ninety-five theses which challenged what the vast majority of Catholics regarded as entirely true. For ex-

Below, left: Philip the Fair was noted for his good looks, as historians tell us; it is said that they were the cause of the madness of Juana la Loca, who was driven out of her mind by jealousy. Below, right: Charles of Ghent, with the protruding jaw which was to be characteristic of all the members of the House of Austria. He came to Spain as king without knowing a single word of Spanish.

ample, he said that "the Pope could *not* forgive men's sins even if they were to pay money for the building of the basilica (Saint Peter's, Rome); the Pope could *not* release souls from Purgatory on payment of a fee . . . Christians could communicate directly with the Godhead from the depths of their conscience, *without intermediaries* . . ."

At first, the Papacy tended to dismiss the whole thing as a monkish dispute. However, Luther's position carried particular weight because it expressed whole centuries of discontent with the immorality of the Church, and, at the same time, echoed the national feelings of resentment which many felt at having to take their orders on religious matters from an Italian. The new doctrines continued to spread, and the Pope appealed to Charles to put an end to this potential danger to the unity of the Church.

In the town of Worms, West Germany, there is a plaque which says: "Here, Martin Luther stood up to the Emperor and the German nation." In fact, Charles, surrounded by theologians sent from Rome, and his whole Imperial retinue, had confronted the Augustinian monk, and asked him whether he would change his views. Luther shocked his audience by agreeing to do just that—and he recanted in German, rather than in Latin. After a number of extremely heated sessions, Charles V affirmed the Catholic tradition of the family, and declared:

". . . one single monk who contradicts what Christianity has been affirming now for a thousand years, must be mistaken. For this purpose, I am prepared to risk my lands, my friends, my body, my blood, my life and my soul."

This phrase was more than sweeping, bombastic oratory: it represented a genuine program. With it, Charles V had engaged the Western world, particularly Spain, in a new crusade, only a short while after the last one had concluded in 1492. Once the Iberian peninsula had been saved from the clutches of Mohammed, Europe had to be saved from Luther. The national interest was to be replaced by supranational considerations. The Empire, in both material and spiritual terms, had to be defended; the weapons and the money for its defense were to come, for the most part, from Spain.

The other Catholic states were not at all interested in taking part in this crusade. This was particularly true of Francis I, the young, headstrong king of France, who had inherited a long-standing enmity towards Spain, and was, moreover, resentful, having lost the Imperial elections.

Taking advantage of the Comunidades movement, he had already moved his troops into Navarre. And now he was entering Italy, over which France and Spain had been fighting for some time. First he turned his attention towards Milan, a rich, pow-

Charles V, as seen by the court painter Titian, at the battle of Mühlberg, in which he defeated the German Protestants.

erful center of trade and industry, which, as a part of the Empire, was under the control of his rival Charles V. The battle of Pavia was a clash between two different strategies—medieval, represented by the French, with their brilliant cavalry charges, headed by King Francis himself, and the modern, on the Imperial side, using with deadly precision a new firearm, the arquebuse, which gradually picked off the best horsemen on the other side, until King Francis himself was taken prisoner.

As a result of this resounding triumph, in 1525, Milan was now entirely in the hands of the Emperor, who, as King of Spain, also ruled Naples and Sicily, which he had inherited from his Aragonese ancestors. Since various states such as the duchy of Tuscany, Siena and Genova were receiving Spanish subsidies, the whole of Italy had become what would now be called a "sphere of influence" of Madrid.

Since the Papacy, besides its spiritual authority, also had temporal power, it found this state of affairs not to its liking. Pope Clement VII sought an alliance with France against Spain which by now had him firmly held in a geopolitical noose. Charles V dispatched his troops against them, and, in 1527, an incredible event took place. The civil defender of the Catholic Church—the Emperor—stormed the spiritual capital of that same religion. The "sack of Rome," during which cardinals and bishops were subjected to the same indignities and plunder as were visited upon the ordinary shopkeepers of the Trastevere, while the Pope, fearing for his very life, took refuge in the Castel Sant-Angelo, caused a great international scandal.

One consequence of this scandal, however, was the revelation of the existence of a group of writers who, without going so far as to break openly with the Church, as Luther had done, nonetheless accepted the main points of the theories advanced by the leading intellectual of the age, Erasmus of Rotterdam, who called for a thorough overhaul of the ecclesiastical organization of the Church. Alfonso de Valdés, in his "Diálogo de las coses ocurridas en Roma" ("Account of the events in Rome"), explained the humiliation which had been suffered by Clement VII as a punishment, sent by Providence, for the decadence and immorality which had become prevalent in the Papacy. Valdés attacked the worship of relics, excessive luxury and sensuality among the clergy. Unlike Luther, however, he believed, as did Erasmus, that reform could be achieved from within the Church, leaving its structures intact. His brother Juan de Valdés, Luis Vives and other writers of the period also believed, like him, that Charles V had been chosen by God in order to restore order in a house which was really for all Catholics.

The Council of Trent, which was convened on the initiative of Charles V, though it finished its work during the reign of his son Philip II, was to accept many of the reforms, such as these, which the Church was seeking. The mis-named Counter-Reformation, which was really more of an internal reform, also began to have some effect on the monastic orders whose behavior had been so scandalous. The most famous of the refor-

mers engaged in such activities, and one who restored the purity of the Carmelite order, was also the most famous woman writer in Spain's history.

Unfortunately, the liberal, tolerant Spain which might have come into being if the views of men like Valdés and Vives, with the support of Charles V, had prevailed, was to disappear altogether as the Reformation gained more and more ground in Europe. When the Spanish Church saw it triumph in England, under Henry VIII, forming the Anglican Church, in Switzerland with Calvin, in the Huguenot parts of France, in Holland and the Nordic countries, and, with Luther, throughout Germany, it greatly heightened the vigilance of the Inquisition; soon, the ideas of Erasmus were censured as heavily as those of Luther. The combination of politics and religion (the German Protestants were also nationalists and, accordingly, anti-Imperialists) caused

Upper left: Feeling his strength declining, Charles V retired to the monastery of Yuste in Extremadura. Lower left: "My life has been a long journey". In these quarters, in Yuste, he was to await death. Below: An episode in the family life of a dynasty is shown in this Romantic painting. John of Austria is presented to Emperor Charles V in Yuste, and is told that the old man is his father.

Charles V, who had once been tolerant and understanding, to adopt a theocratic and authoritarian policy: violence was to be met with violence. Saint Ignatius Loyola formed the "Society of Jesus," which was conceived on a military pattern, in order to fight for the Papacy and stamp out erroneous beliefs: ". . . the preachers of heresy . . . and, in general all those who cause this contagion to spread to others must be severely punished." These words were written in 1554. In that same year, Calvin used the following terms to explain the death of the Spanish scholar Miguel Servet, who was burned at the stake: "Is it right that heretics should be allowed to cause grave harm to men's souls, poisoning them with their false doctrines, while, at the same time, the sword sent by God should be prevented from striking them down? Is it right that the entire body of Jesus Christ should be torn apart in this way . . . so that the foul smell of a rotting member should be allowed to remain in it?" As can be seen, both sides of the religious barricades showed the same level of intolerance. Identical threats hung over all those who sought to pray to God in some different way.

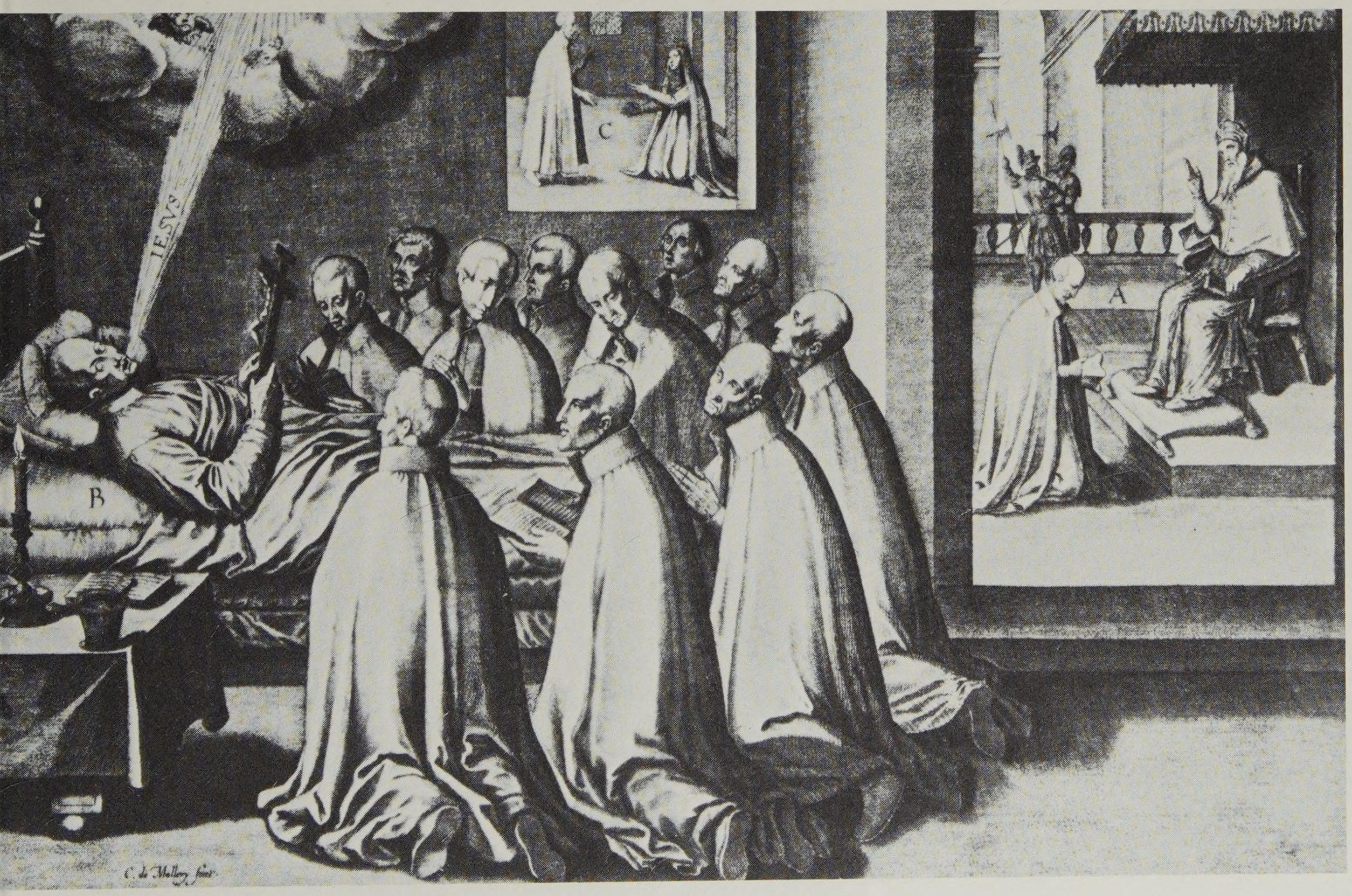
The military struggle against the Protestants reached its finest hour, from the Spanish point of view, at Mühlberg (1547), in the presence of the Emperor himself, immortalized on canvas by Titian. However, a time came when Charles V realized that the exclusive role of the Catholic Church could not be restored; the Peace of Augsburg (1555) included provisions for a system of regional tolerance. Each German prince was to decide the form of worship which would be practised in the territory under his rule—"cuius regio ejus religio" (the religion shall be that of the ruler). In a sense, this was a democratic solution, because the ordinary citizen was

Below: The embodiment of spiritual ardor, St. Teresa of Avila, brought about the internal reform of her Order, and, wrote in beautiful Spanish about her mystical union with God.

Left: Calvin's counterpart—Ignatius of Loyola; the same tenacity, the same certainty about his duty to God, the same intolerance towards the enemy of the "only" possible religion. Below: When Ignatius of Loyola died, he had already set in motion one of the important religious ventures of all time: the Society of Jesus. In return for the Pope's permission to found the Society, its members showed total loyalty to the Supreme Pontiff.

still being told, from on high, how he should approach the sacraments, the only real difference being that the authorities issuing the instructions were now not quite so far above his head as they had previously been.

Charles V's willingness to make this concession was due not merely to the mounting exhaustion brought on by a seemingly endless war, but also to a desire on his part to accept the lesser of two evils. After all, the Duke of Saxony, while an enemy of the Emperor, was nonetheless, like him, a Christian, whereas the threat from the Middle East was the same one that his Spanish ancestors had fought for hundreds of years until the triumph of the Reconquest: the shadow of Mohammed.



6 The Spanish Empire

Turks, Berbers, Algerians

If we look at the Mediterranean as the symbolic crescent which appeared on the Mohammedan flag, we will see that the two horns of the crescent made some striking advances to the north—luckily for Christendom, not at the same time. As we have seen, the left horn was blunted by the French army of Charles Martel at Poitiers in 732, and went no further. The right horn ran into the barrier of the Byzantine Empire, which resisted the advance of Islam until 1453, when the proud city of Constantinople became Istanbul. It had taken the Muslim world almost eight centuries to break into Europe, but thereafter, things moved very fast indeed. In 1526, the Turks reached Buda in Hungary, and were at the gates of Vienna in 1523. The distance between Vienna and Poitiers, in France, is disturbingly short, when one thinks about it.

Besides threatening the heart of the Empire, the Turks were also active along the Spanish coast. Their base for operations from North Africa was the satellite kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis, from which they sent frequent expeditions against settlements along the Spanish coasts, compelling many of the inhabitants of coastal towns to move well inland, returning to their homes nearer the sea only when the situation had improved. This explains why, in Catalonia, for example, there is a town known as Arenys de Munt, some distance from the sea, and Arenys de Mar, on the coast; the same is true of Soller and Puerto de Soller in Majorca. The pirates used to make lightning raids, carrying off the men as slaves, the women for use in their harems, and the children so that they could grow up in the Muslim faith—and then they fled rapidly with their booty. Sometimes, instead of attacking towns, they would board ships on the open sea, seeking the same kind of booty. On one such occasion, the author of *Don Quixote,* Cervantes, was taken prisoner.

In order to put an end to this threat, expeditions were dispatched, with variable results. Spanish forces seized Tunis in 1535, but a similar attempt to take Algiers, in 1541, ended in defeat. The threat was to continue for a whole century more.

Mexico, Peru

Charles V's obsession with European affairs made him forget a venture in which Spain had displayed great courage and initiative, not to mention the vast effort of administration which it had involved: that was the New World. There is a legend, which, like many others, tells us something of the real situation at the time, even though they may not be strictly true in every detail. Hernan Cortes, disappointed because he had not been received by the Emperor on his return from Mexico, went up to him one day. "Who are you?" the Emperor asked him curtly. "Sir, I am a man who has given you more states than the cities which you inherited from your ancestors," was the reply.

There was much truth in this statement. The Imperial rise of Charles V was virtually parallelled by Spanish expansion in Mexico. In 1519, Hernan Cortes landed there with four hundred men and sixteen horses. With them, he took his first enemies by surprise and eventually defeated them. He used military force, charging at the head of his men against an enemy which outnumbered him by a thousand to one; but his main approach was political. The local populace saw in the white foreigners someone who could help them take their revenge on the Aztecs who had kept them in such a state of servitude, so they offered their services as auxiliary troops. Within a short while, Hernan Cortes had subued the immense territory of Mexico, had begun the construction of its first cathedral, and sent the first of many shipments of gold and silver back to Spain.

Another group of men set off for Peru. Francisco Pizarro, who spent his childhood tending swine, and who, like Cortes, was from Extremadura, displayed the same mixture of courage, ingenuity—and cruelty, when necessary—in overthrowing the em-

Left: Charles V, in premature old age, after an a long, embattled reign, full of glory, but also of wars. Below: Cortés on horseback followed by his men, and watched by awe-struck natives. According to the painter, this was a scene from the conquest of Mexico.

The upper part of this illustration shows the burning of the boats. Below, the Conquistador gives a banquet.

pire of the Incas, being helped in his efforts by Atahualpa, who tried to buy his freedom by filling one of the rooms of the palace with gold and silver. Peru became a synonym for wealth, so much so that a popular Spanish expression came into being—*valer un Peru*, to be worth a Peru, in other words, to be worth a great deal. Diego de Valdivia went on to Chile, where he was to encounter the toughest opponents the Spanish ever had to fight in the New World—the Araucans. Just as the defeated Moors in the Spanish peninsula eventually became "heroes" of frontier ballads, *romances* and *novelas*, so also Caupolican and his followers were glorified in *La Araucana*, by the epic poet Alonso de Ercilla.

From its American possessions, Spain was to receive the tomato and the turkey; words such as *huracán* (hurricane), *cacique* (prince, prominent citizen), *chocolate*. However, it was gold and silver that were to constitute the New World's main export to the Old; the vessels in which they were carried travelled singly to begin with, though later on, on account of the danger of raids by French or English pirates, they moved in protected convoys, which left Central America twice a year, the precious metals having been transported there overland from Mexico and Peru.

The gold and silver provided by the Americas was all consumed by the never-ending wars which we have referred to earlier. Since the money was urgently needed before the ships arrived with their precious cargo, the Emperor had to borrow from Genovese or German bankers in order to finance armies, munitions and warships; then, when the galleons eventually arrived, repayment had to be made at high rates of interest. On

The lively warrior-king and international traveller has been succeeded by a sedentary, introverted bureaucrat called Philip II.

many occasions, the agents of foreign banks simply took possession of the convoys as they arrived in Sevilla. In this way, countless shipments of treasure passed through Spain without leaving a trace, whereas this wealth could well have been used for the establishment of banks, institutions and industries. As in the days of the Catholic Monarchs, the *Mesta* continued to enjoy support, and textiles manufactured abroad from Spanish wool continued to be bought in Spain at enormous prices. In his *Memoria a Felipe II*, just after the new king's coronation in 1558, Luis de Ortiz pointed out the absurdity of the system:

"Having bought from us an *arroba* (twenty-five pounds) of wool for fifteen *reales*, they then manufacture, outside Spain, all sorts of tapestries and cloths, and then sell them back to us, making a profit of more than fifteen ducats . . . the same is true of iron and steel: with one ducat's worth of raw material, they make brakes, tweezers, hammers, shotguns, swords, daggers . . . which bring them a profit of twenty, and sometimes a hundred, ducats."

Luis de Ortiz suggested two measures to prevent Spain being bled white in this way. One of them was the prohibition of the export of unprocessed materials and the other a ban on imports. In order to make these products in the country, the mechanical skills, which were "despised and virtually non-existent" should be enhanced by "the granting of rewards and honors, as they do in Flanders."

Ortiz was a dreamer. For the Spain of his day, manual labor was something unworthy, to be avoided at all costs, even by those whose place in society required that they do it. Obviously, men who, though poor, had nevertheless had both Moors and Jews as their inferiors, and who could still go to the New World and be waited on by Indians, regarded themselves as a kind of *Herrenvolk*, for whom working with their hands was wholly despicable. It was not until two centuries later, in 1783, that a king, Charles III passed legislation stating that manual work "does not debase those who do it," and "is no obstacle to the attainment of nobility."

Polemics in the New World

The debate which had begun during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs had now burst into the open: the question was, to what extent did the Spaniards have the right to intervene in the affairs of the Indians? Fray Bartolomé de las Casas lashed out vehemently at the conquest of the New World. According to him, the Spanish entered the Indies "like the cruelest of the wolves, tigers and lions," whereas the Indians, on the other hand, were "simple people, devoid of evil or duplicity . . . humble, patient, peaceful and quiet." His book *La Destruycion de las Indias* (The destruction of the Indies) was published in 1552. Three years later, Ginés de Sepúlveda, quoting geographical and

Pizarro on horseback, in the Plaza de las Armas, Lima, Peru, one of the few Latin American cities which have thus honored their Spanish founder.

Right: A naive picture of an episode in the history of Mexico. Moctezuma the deposed emperor, humiliated in the presence of the foreign conqueror Cortés, who had come in "ships as big as mountains".

demographic data, began to challenge this version of events, denying that Spain had caused the deaths of so many indigenous people, and claiming that those who, in the words of Las Casas, were so peaceful and tranquil, had actually slaughtered and eaten many Spaniards, whenever they succeeded in taking them by surprise and overwhelming them by sheer weight of numbers and weaponry.

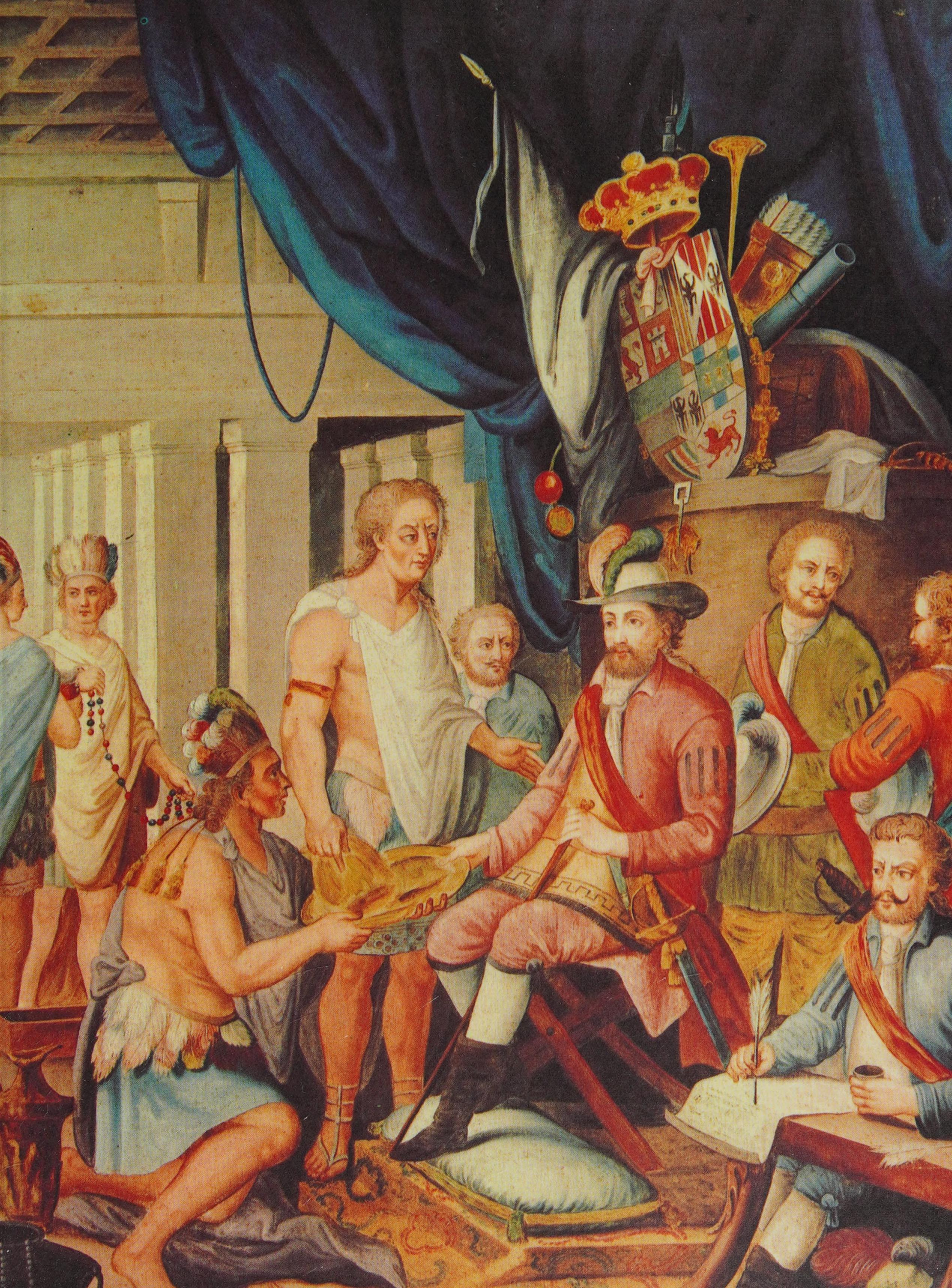
Padre Vitoria tried to arrive at an impartial view of the problem. Broadly speaking, his conclusions were the following: the Indians, in fact, had been in control of their own lands and masters of their own house, and had done nothing to offend the Spanish, who had truly invaded them and their territory. However, the Gospel requires us to preach the word of God, the Christian faith; we must, therefore, preach it wherever we may be, and if we encounter resistance, we must overcome it, because the salvation of so many thousands of souls is much more important than the desire of a few to cling to the superstitions of their pagan gods.

Philip II

In 1556, a man who was exactly as old as the century, but who looked much older, abdicated his throne in Flanders. In his own words, "my life has been a long journey"—and he really meant it. Whenever he had felt that circumstances required personal contact with the leading figures of his day, off he went: he spoke with the King of England on five separate occasions, three times with the King of France, twice with one Pope and four times with his successor. He had been a gay, lively person . . . but when his strength began to flag and his gout immobilized him, he simply gave up. He had come to realize that the dual crown which he wore was too much of a burden for one man, so he divided up his legacy, leaving the Empire, complete with its splendid title, to his brother Ferdinand, and the Spanish possessions to his son Philip. However, it was evident, from certain details of this political testament of his, that he had become gradually more and more Spanish. He removed two major items from the sphere of the Empire and made them a part of the Spanish legacy which was to be passed on to Philip II. One of them was Flanders, in order to keep France on the alert along its north-east border; the other was Milan, in order to keep Italy within the political orbit of Madrid.

The reign of Philip II began with the victory of San Quentin, over the French. The new king was present at the final stages of the battle, but we have no portrait of him on horseback, like the one of his father, on a very similar occasion at Mühlberg, painted by Titian; perhaps it is only fitting that this should be so, as the artist might have given a very false impression of the nature of his reign. Just as his father had been a traveller and an international figure, he, on the contrary, was exceedingly withdrawn and limited to a purely national sphere. He did travel to England on a few occasions, as his father, in pursuance of the Catholic Monarchs' policies, had decided to "marry" the young prince to Mary Tudor, and he also went to Flanders, as we have seen, for the battle of Saint Quentin; but after that, he stayed strictly within the territories of his crown, and did not go to Portugal until it had become part of the crown's possessions. He was an introvert, to exactly the same degree as his father had been an extrovert. Whereas Charles V used to go out to meet problems head on, Philip used to pore over the documents in the Escorial, and come to a decision only after prolonged doubts. His habit of cloaking his acts in mystery—or, as he put it, in the *necessary discretion*—made him even less popular. Philip II came to figure prominently in the Spanish Black Legend, on account, first of all, of his deeds, and secondly of his personality. This was for a number of reasons.

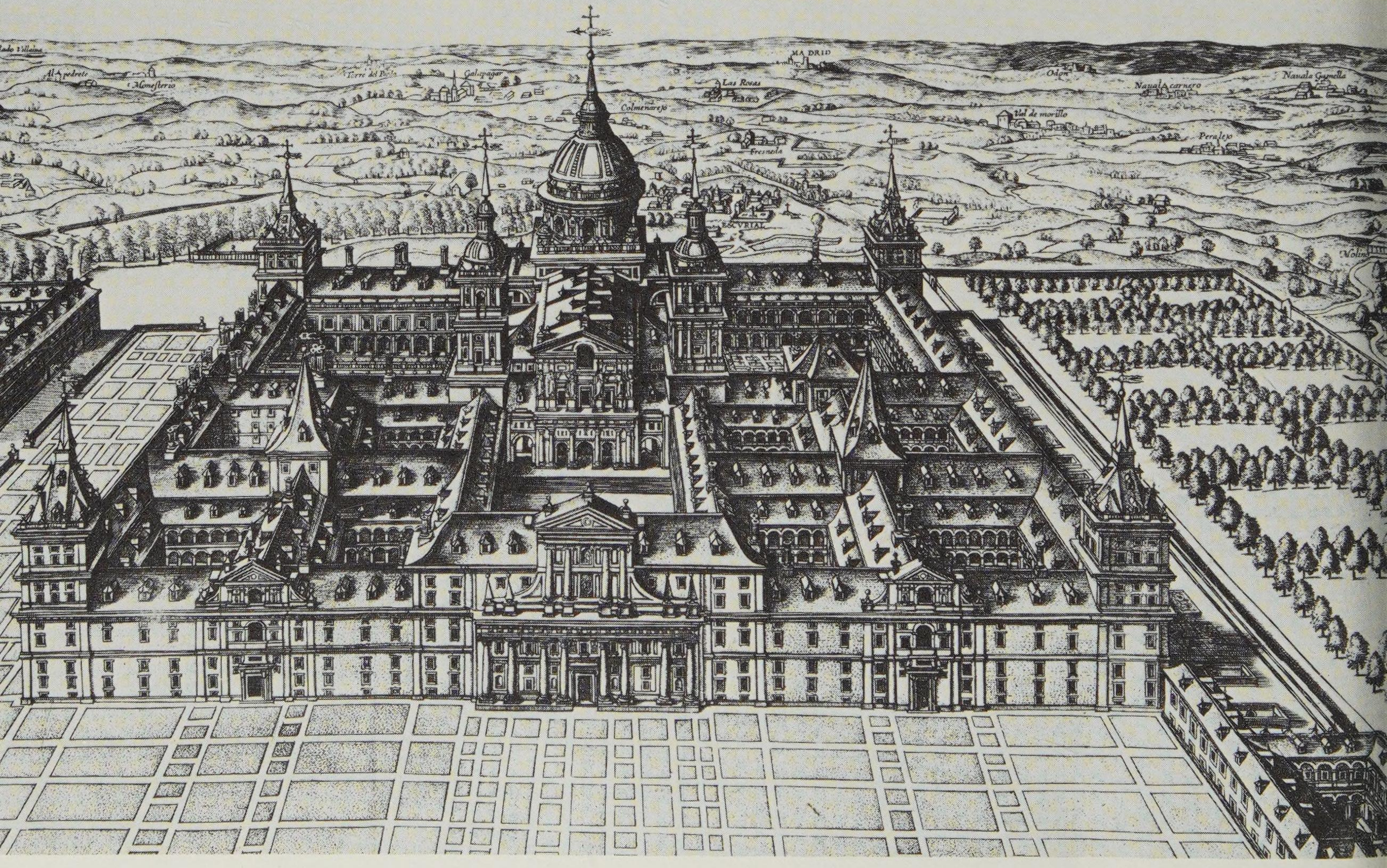
As Emperor, Charles V, who was an intransigent Catholic, had been obliged to defend the Church which was a part of the inheritance he had received. Philip II, on the other hand, was only king of Spain, and his mission was solely the defense of the in-



Below: An early engraving of a uniquely impressive building—the monastery of El Escorial.

terests of that country. Charles had concluded the Peace of Augsburg, because he had realized that he had to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Protestants, as they were an actual part of the European scene, and one which had to be taken into account if the continent was not to be split in two; but Philip could not bring himself to enter into accommodations and compromises of this sort. On first hearing of the uprising of the Calvinists in the Netherlands, he was told, by his advisers, that an intransigent attitude could mean the loss of those provinces, which were of such great economic and strategic importance. Yet his reply was: "I prefer to lose them rather than reign over heretics." He took a hard line, and sent the Duke of Alba to suppress the revolt; he had the leaders, the Counts of Egmont and Hornes, beheaded, with the result that even today, his name is greeted with shudders of horror in Belgium and Holland. Eventually, of course, he lost the provinces. It is instructive to compare his attitude with that of Henry IV, who blithely converted to Catholicism, with the political—and cynical—comment: "Paris is certainly worth one mass."

Philip II's reputation for harshness and cruelty was such that he was never given the benefit of the doubt. This was certainly so in the case of Prince Charles, his heir, who was obviously a highly unstable person, having contracted some of the mental illness which was present in the family blood. The Venetian Ambassador, Soranzo, the representative of a country hostile to Spain, once described him in a dispatch as being of "melancholy and irascible temperament, one who does not listen or pay attention to anyone . . . he has little respect for others, including the king . . . and has a very cruel nature." These words were written three years before the king took a step which scandalized the whole of



Right: The Princesa de Eboli: scandal in high places during the reign of Philip II.

Europe. The prince was accused of conspiring against his father, and was arrested in his room. Philip II hastened to explain the incident away to the Pope and other European heads of State; but the suspicion lingered, and, when the prince died a short while afterwards, the whole episode was to prove highly advantageous to that great defender of Flemish freedom, the Prince of Orange, who wrote about it in his *Apologia.* In this propagandistic work, Philip II was accused of murdering his son, from whom he even stole his bride-to-be; Queen Isabel had, in fact, been betrothed to the prince before she married Philip II. The writers of the Romantic period found the dramatic content of this situation irresistible; Goethe's *Egmont* and Schiller's *Don Carlos* later greatly enlarged the already sinister image of Philip II for the millions who read their works.

The king's reputation was not at all improved by another murky affair, this time involving his secretary Antonio Pérez, who, having once been his right-hand man, was arrested and sentenced to death, but managed to escape to France. Amorous intrigues with the Princess of Eboli combined with the policies of John of Austria, to make this episode a particularly juicy one. Spain's sworn enemies would willingly pay to hear and read the charges which the ex-minister had to level against his former master.

Catholicism—national variety

When explaining away the aggressive nature of Philip II's defense of religious principles, which caused him to use money and weapons needed for other purposes, his defenders point out that, in the circumstances of his day, it was very difficult to distinguish the interests of the State from those of religion. Of course, in areas such as relations with England, this was particularly true. When Philip prepared an Armada to attack the schismatic island, one could say that he was acting against Queen Elizabeth who had persecuted Catholics in her country, and imprisoned his cousin Marie Stuart, but also that he was striking at the protectors of the pirates who had been attacking Spanish galleons and even the New World ports from which the gold and silver was being shipped; moreover, the English also gave subsidies to the Dutch who were at war with Philip in Flanders. National and religious interests went hand in hand.

The same was true of the struggle against the Turks, who continued to threaten the Spanish coast, which at that time included much of the western Mediterranean, as the whole of the south of Italy was under a viceroy appointed by the King of Spain.

However, in both cases, official propaganda laid great emphasis on religious themes. When the League, whose members were the Pope, Malta, Venice and Spain, went to war against the Turks, Philip II gave its leaders, John of Austria, a set of special "secret instructions" . . . "in which greater stress shall be laid on the moral preparedness of the soldiers and sailors than on their military training . . . anyone caught blaspheming shall, on the first occasion, be made to run the gauntlet four times . . . on the second, eight, and shall be gagged for one month; on the third occasion, he shall be tossed overboard and left to drown."

On religious matters, the king was so supremely sure of himself that he felt he had nothing to learn from the Pope himself. When it seemed that there was about to be a repeat performance of the alliance between Paul IV and France, the Duke of Alba made a menacing visit to the outskirts of Rome. How could such conduct be compatible with loyalty to the Pope? For this purpose, the king had the help of eminent theologians such as Padre Cano, for whom the episode was rather like that of "a son whose father suddenly goes mad and starts trying to harm him and his brothers, so that, with all due respect to him as a father, he would do well to disarm him immediately . . ."

It was felt that Catholic Spain would defeat heretical England by its moral superiority. As in the case of Santiago, the Spanish forces hoped for effective support from on high.

Yet, when the Invincible Armada was defeated, Padre Rivadaneyra felt that the time had come for an examination of conscience. Since victory and defeat were both in the hands of God, who, logically, should have helped the Catholics, why was it that the Spanish fleet had been lost? The theologian sought the reason in the

The Battle of Lepanto, the last great Spanish victory at sea. The commander of the allied fleets which defeated the Turks was John of Austria.

unworthy motives of the Spanish expeditionary force; the restoration of the one true faith on the island was not their only concern, as they were also looking forward to collecting the spoils of war, so God punished them.

Lepanto and the Invincible Armada were truly turning points in the history of warfare at sea. In the first of them, traditional methods of combat were used: the ships themselves served only as support and transport for the large body of troops. The preliminary cannon barrage was meant to immobilize or damage the enemy vessels, after which hooked planks were thrown on board, and battle thereafter proceeded very much as if it had been taking place on land.

During the expedition against England, this same type of thinking prevailed and the ponderous vessels were burdened with a vast army of soldiers. The English, however, used tactics which had never been seen before, and which since have become standard practice in naval battles. Artillery fire was directed at the enemy not as a way of moving closer and then boarding them, but as an end in itself; artillery was thought to be more effective, while the infantry could be kept in reserve. This, together with the superior seamanship shown by the English navy, which was more accustomed to sailing in northern waters, sufficed to produce the greatest defeat in Spanish history, in 1588.

Only eight years before, Philip II had reached the peak of his political glory. The death of King Sebastian of Portugal, in a bitter conflict with the Moors at Alcazarquivir, caused a dynastic vacuum which Philip hastened to fill, with two fairly solid arguments on his side. One was that he had ties of blood which made his claim to the throne unassailable; the other was the dreaded *tercios* of the now ageing Duke of Alba, of Flemish renown. Philip II was crowned King of Portugal; but the ceremony was about a hundred years too late—at one time, Portugal, like Aragon, could have become joined to the throne of Castille. However, the 16th century had given rise to a brand of national sentiment which now made the Portuguese feel separate from, and resentful towards, their powerful neighbors.

In addition to vast stretches of the New World, and the newly conquered Philipines (named thus by Philip himself), Spain now became the master of the colossal Portuguese Empire.

7 The Golden Age

Philip III: fortunately (and unfortunately) a weak king

The black suit which symbolized the closed, serious, hermetic spirit of the mysterious Philip II now gave way to a brilliant splash of colors. Palace life was one long series of festivities, as a new king had changed the face of Spain. Historians have rightly used terms such as "frivolous" and "weak-minded" when referring to him. Philip began the custom of allowing the actual business of governing to be done by favorites and dignitaries, while the monarch himself could be free to devote his time, as he pleased, to prayer or entertainment, to religious ceremonial or courtly merrymaking, with tournaments and elegants balls. The king showed his generosity in the form of a steady stream of gifts to his courtiers, who, in other cases, obtained high office by paying bribes to the real head of the government, the Duke of Lerma. Of course, this initial outlay was later recovered in the use, or rather the abuse, of the power which went with the post in question. Since the days of Henry IV, there had never been worse immorality in the public administration. A prime example of the way things were run was the decision to move the capital from Madrid to Valladolid, merely because the merchants of the latter city paid handsomely for the privilege. For exactly the same reason—this time at the expense of the inhabitants of Madrid—the capital moved back to its former location a few years later.

Nevertheless, this frivolous, extravagant king showed more common sense in foreign affairs than his father or even his grandfather. Philip III proved able to grasp the new realities of the world, and thus could come to terms with a country which had been Spain's fierce enemy for many years—England—and also accepted the *fait accompli* of the separate existence of Holland as an independent state. The area now known as Belgium remained united to the Spanish crown through the ingenuity of Alejandro Farnesio, who realized that it was better to save the Catholic part of Flanders, with the measure of autonomy represented by Archdukes Albert and Isabel Clara Eugenia, while allowing Calvinist Holland to go its own way. At least Philip III thus prevented the continuation of the drain of money and men from Spain which had occurred in previous reigns.

From the economic point of view, however, he allowed the country to suffer a considerable drain by expelling the only remaining unintegrated minority. These were the *moriscos*, the descendants of the vanquished inhabitants of Granada, to whom the Catholic Monarchs had granted all kinds of guarantees relating to their faith and their customs. The mounting intolerance of the 16th century had gradually whittled these guarantees away, as one privilege after another was withdrawn. The process had already given rise to a rebellion, at Alpujarras, in 1569, in the suppression of which the future hero of Lepanto, John of Austria, had shown his military prowess for the first time.

In 1569, the government decided to take the decisive step. As in the case of the Jews, it proved highly popular with the majority of the people, who regarded the moriscos as a separate group, whose numbers were constantly rising, as none of their men of breeding age were lost by entry into the priesthood or death in military action; moreover, they continued to practise the Mohammedan faith, and—a familiar accusation—they could be the allies of possible Turkish or Berber invaders, as they were all of the same faith.

The edict of expulsion began with the moriscos of Valencia, who were given only three days to leave (the Jews in 1492 had been given almost seven months), whereas those in Castille and other kingdoms of Spain were allowed a month. The only ones permitted to remain were children of less than four years of age, as they were thought to be capable of growing up within the Catholic faith; also,

Below: Meeting between Louis XIV and Philip IV. The arranged marriage of Maria Teresa and the French king later cleared the way for the House of Bourbon to accede to the Spanish throne, when the House of Austria came to an end.

those who were regarded as Christians were allowed to stay.

One of those who welcomed the expulsion was Cervantes, who, in his *Coloquio de los Perros* (one of the *Novelas Ejemplares*) summarized the resentment of the ordinary citizen. "Among the moriscos there is no such thing as chastity, none of them become priests . . . they all marry and multiply . . . Their numbers are not reduced either by war or by hard work. They fleece us, by taking what we have inherited and then selling it back to us, so that we are left poor, while they get rich."

This is a fitting moment at which to mention Cervantes, because the reign of Philip III was also the great age of Spanish literature. As happened in the case of the Roman Empire, culture made its appearance just as its politico-military drive had reached its peak, and the process of decadence had begun. It was during the reign of Philip III that Cervantes published *Don Quixote* and the *Novelas Ejemplares*, and Góngora his poem *Las Soledades*, Lope de Vega's plays *Los amores de Felisa, Fuenteovejuna, El perro del hortelano* were first performed; Mateo Alemán wrote *Guzmán de Alfarache*, and St. John of the Cross, his *Obras Espirituales*. In this way, the most famous literary *genres* of the history of Spain were all represented: the novel with the *Quixote*, mysticism, with St. John of the Cross, the picaresque with Mateo Alemán, and theater with Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina.

Don Quixote is now regarded as a symbol of the decadence of Spain, as personified in a man who is constantly day-dreaming, but is incapable of making his dreams a reality; however, there are reasons for believing that it is more properly a figurative account of the author's own personal misfortunes. Well after the publication, in 1605, of the first part of the *Quixote*,

Philip III, a brilliant, lazy king who, despite his arrogant military posture in this portrait, was actually quite a peaceful man.

Below, left: A writer whose fame is immortal, though his life was unhappy. In "Don Quixote", Miguel de Cervantes wrote a lesson of humor and bitterness, which has been widely interpreted as a portrait of the Spanish character, then, now and always. Right: Lope de Vega. Brilliant sociable and extravagant, founder of the Spanish National Theatre, he was admired both in his lifetime and since.

the theater-going public in Madrid flocked to performances of the extremely optimistic plays of Lope de Vega, in which Spanish soldiers were always brave and generous, country-dwellers were patriotic and jealous of their family honor, while the kings were just and always ready to help the under-privileged against the powerful. The fact is that Spain, at the beginning of the 17th century, was still a highly respected Power in Europe, and that the calamity of the Armada had not made the slightest dent on its position. It is sufficient to read a few of the dispatches sent by the Venetian ambassadors, for example, to see that they were constantly afraid of the exploits of the Viceroy of Naples, the Duke of Osuna, against the Republic of Venice, and they viewed with equal concern the Spanish attacks in North Africa, for example, that on the Maamora fortress, a noted refuge of Berber pirates. In 1618, Spanish diplomacy was to perform wonders in England, by having a British pirate, Sir Walter Raleigh, brought to justice for attacking Spanish ships. His predecessor in this role, Francis Drake, had been knighted by the Queen for doing precisely the same thing.

The economy remained strong, too. The Spanish escudo was gladly accepted in all countries, just as the Swiss franc or the Deutschmark might be today.

Philip IV: hopeless at politics, top marks for culture

Philip IV's reign lasted forty-four years. Historians all agree that his political sense was zero, and that, under his control, Spain lost all its earlier power. Quevedo logically warned of the danger of the wounded lion's victims all deciding to turn on him at the same time, seeking vengeance:

*"... es más fácil, España, en muchos modos,—que lo que a todos les quitaste sola—te puedan a ti sola quitar todos."**

* "In many ways, Spain, it was much easier for those from whom you, singlehanded, had taken so much, to take it back from you now that you stand alone."

The Conde-Duque de Olivares, who was, for many years, the real king of Spain.

The fact was, however, that Spain brought upon itself this almost vertical decline by its totally unrealistic attempt to return to its messianic expansion of the 16th century, at a time when circumstances had changed totally.

The chief culprit was the Conde-Duque de Olivares. Whereas Philip III had left control of the government in the hands of the Duke of Lerma, who was more intent on getting rich than on waging war. Philip IV chose a man whose natural intelligence and capacity for work were unable to offset his petulance and his total confidence in his destiny. When the situation required hard calculating thought, he would indulge his dreams, whereas, when what was needed was resistance, he would leap into the attack. Right at the beginning of the reign, he outlined the king's obligations thus:

"When one considers the extent of your kingdoms and dominions, Sire, you are the greatest king in the whole world . . . You are the main support and defense of the Catholic Church; for this purpose, you have waged war on the Dutch and the other enemies of the Church who assist them, and your main duty is to defend yourself and to attack them."

The peace of the realm was now truly a thing of the past, as Spain set off on new adventures. However, these new policies required money, and Olivares proposed that the Catalonians should help in this endeavor, just as the Castilians were doing, as Philip IV was king of both states.

"Your Majesty should not content himself with being king of Portugal, Aragón and Valencia, and Count of Barcelona; rather, Your Majesty should try to make all these kingdoms, of which Spain is composed, conform to the laws and authority of Castille . . ." was Olivares' advice to the king in 1625; "and if Your Majesty succeeds in this, he will become the most powerful prince of the whole world."

However, as was to be expected, the Catalonians, whose special rights were recognized, under oath, by the king during his coronation, refused to pay for Castilian troops. The Barcelona uprising of 1640 followed; the viceroy was murdered, and Olivares tried to retaliate. The Catalonians sought help and protection from the King of France, who, ever since Charlemagne, had always had their eye on these provinces; eventually, however, seeing that they would merely be swapping one foreigner for another, they returned to the Spanish fold, on the understanding that their special rights would be respected. The only after-effect of the war was greater mutual distrust between the two regions and further evidence of the weakness of Philip IV, who, having initially announced that he intended to set off at the head of his troops, then changed his mind, and returned to the appropriately-named Palacio del Buen Retiro.

The Catalonian revolt almost coincided with similar events in Portugal. Here, however, the opposition to Castille was all the greater, because sixty years of Spanish rule had failed to create roots in this neighboring

Originally from Crete, El Greco was to bring mysticism to life in his paintings, just as St. Teresa did in her books. This is the house in which he lived in Toledo.

land. The Duke of Braganza proclaimed himself King of Portugal, and the Spanish effort had been all in vain. Portugal became separated, once and for all, from Spain.

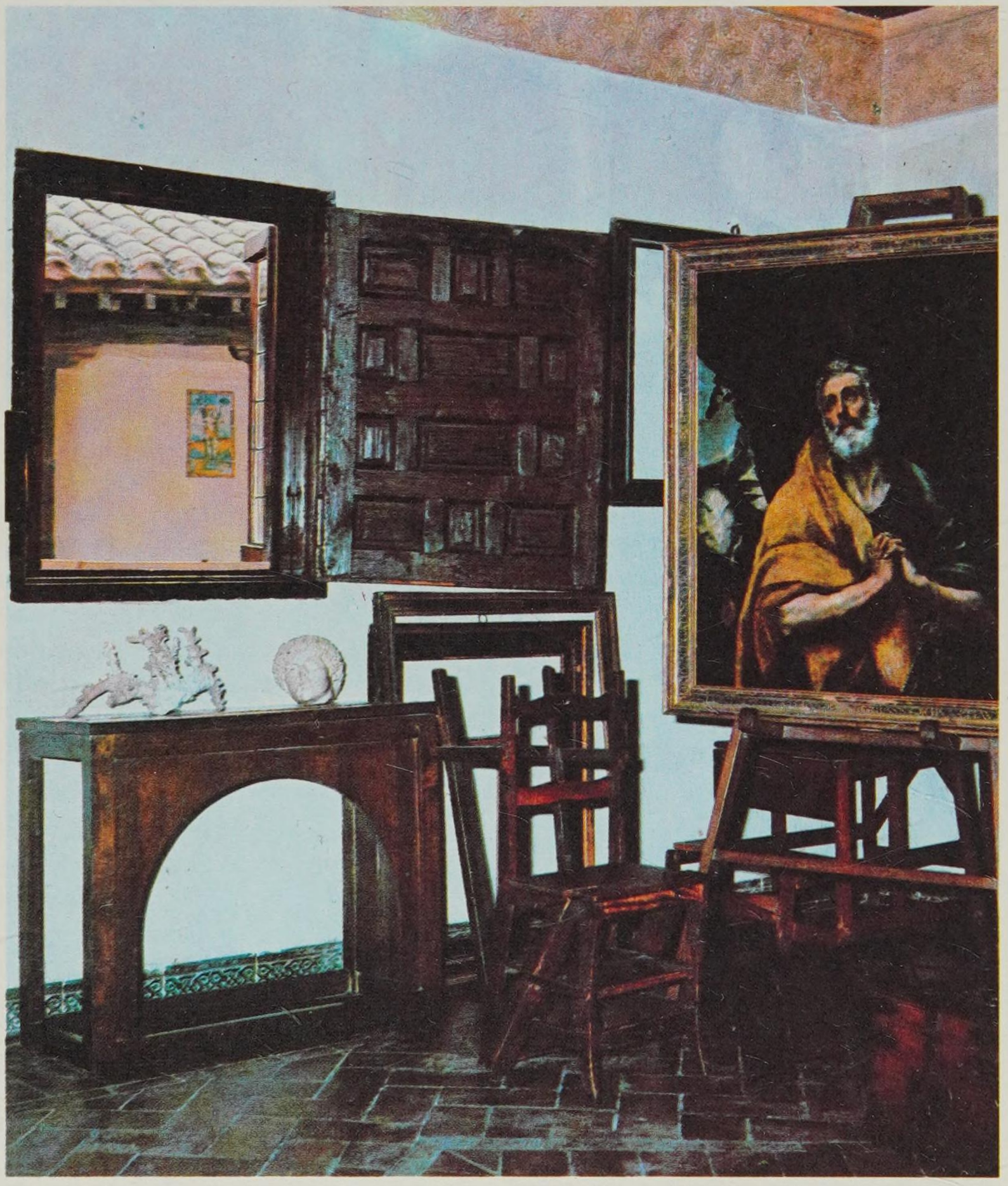
Separatist movements also occurred in Andalusia and Naples: the Empire was beginning to collapse.

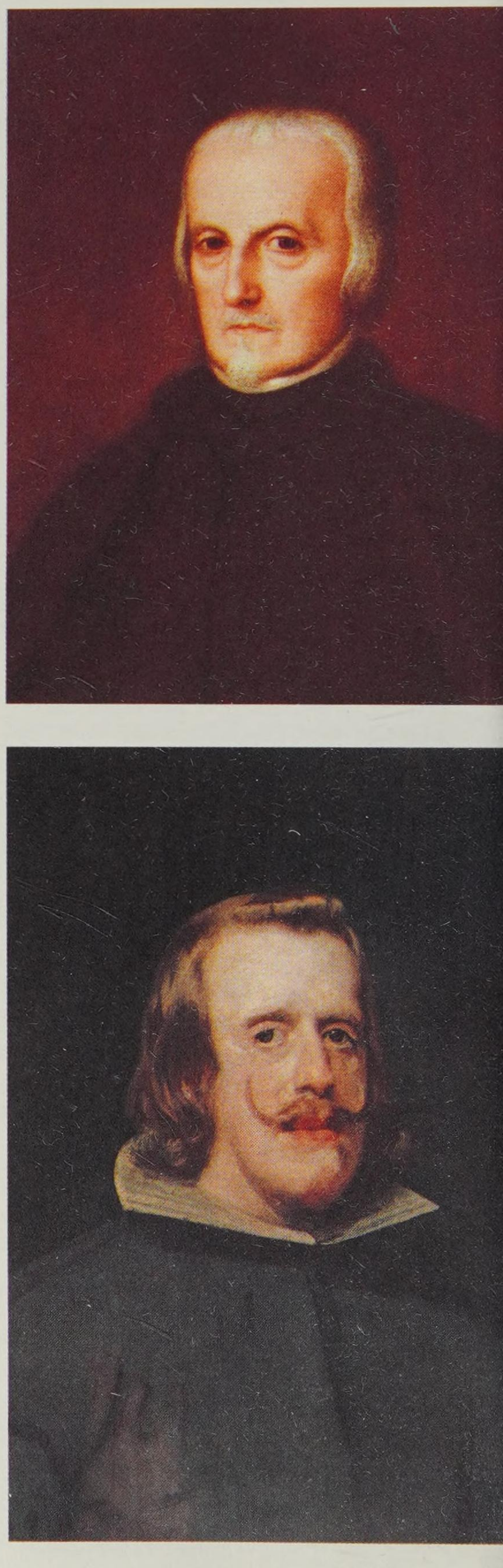
All this was happening in 1640. Three years later, after the fall of the Conde-Duque, Olivares, but while the consequences of his policies were still very much in evidence, a battle took place which historians commonly regard as the death-knell of Spanish power on land: the famous *tercios*, whose very name had spread terror throughout Europe, were defeated by the French at Rocroi. As usual, the war with the French had been fought on several fronts, in Italy, the Netherlands, Luxembourg and the Franche-Comté. This time, however, it happened to coincide with the Thirty Years' War, between Catholics and Protestants, in which Spain, naturally, threw its full support behind the Catholic cause of the Emperor, Philip IV's cousin, being joined in this by all the Catholic countries of Europe except France. Even with a cardinal for Prime Minister, it was fear of Spain—now surrounding France from Belgium, Luxembourg, Franche-Comté and Valtelina—that weighed most heavily with French foreign policy. Having already seen Francis I allied to the Turks, Europe now beheld the spectacle of Cardinal Richelieu forming an alliance with the Lutheran Swedes against the Spanish and Austrian Catholics.

The Peace of Westphalia implicitly recognized that the Empire had ceased to be the head of Europe, and that Spain was no longer the leading military Power. Then followed the greatest humiliation for a once-mighty nation, as it watched its formerly vanquished rival, France, now become increasingly powerful and victorious. Names such as Garellano and Pavia, from the list of Spanish victories of the 16th century, were now replaced by Rocroi, Les Dunes, etc., which were so many Spanish reverses. The Peace of the Pyrenees (1659) was to establish, for the first time in history, that the Pyrenees were the "natural" frontier between the two countries; previously, of course, they had been no such thing, as the Spanish had occupied the French territory of Roussillon more or less continually for many years. The marriage of the Infanta María Teresa of Spain to Louis X re-affirmed the peace between the two nations, and gave the French a right to the Spanish crown, if the king should die without an heir.

The most famous play of the reign of Philip IV was *La vida es sueño* (Life is a dream), by Calderón de la Barca. This work, in which the main character is constantly torn between reality and illusion, can truly be said to be a reflection of the political state of the country, which was also torn, between its ideal role—the right arm of the Church, the owner of the wealth of the New World, a country with the finest army in the world,—and the reality of poor administration, and an economy which was still based on gold and silver, both of which arrived late and in insufficient quantities. Moreover, taxes were levied only on the poor peasants and merchants, while the nobles and the Church were exempted by virtue of their status. Some lines from a letter written by the Viceroy of Milan, Fernández de Córdoba, will

Below: This is El Greco's studio, where he worked for many years. Top: Calderón de la Barca, whose works dealt with questions of destiny, doubt and marital honor. Bottom: Philip IV in old age.





give an idea of the gulf which separated the dream-world of Madrid from the real world of the frontline. The government had been urging him to go out and fight the French. To which Fernández de Córdoba replied as follows:

". . . the King and Conde-Duque issue orders as if they had here an army of fifty thousand men, with all the necessary support and equipment, whereas I have told them a thousand times that what I have here is a very small army, of poor quality, half-dead from hunger. Each of His Majesty's orders is an impossibility; he wants me to make war against the whole world, with neither men nor money."

At the end of the king's reign, the Genovese ambassador was to emphasize the economy, as a cause of the decline of the monarchy. The Spanish currency had steadily lost value, and the State had lost its most important commodity—credit. Without it, foreign loans were unobtainable and lo-

Top: Velazquez, the court painter who was not a courtier: the great mirror of the life and times of Philip IV. Bottom: El Escorial—palace, church, monastery and library combined—was Philip II's favorite refuge.

cal merchants simply hid their cash; the army could not be paid, and its efficiency as a fighting force declined accordingly. When Philip IV died in 1665, Spain was about to begin its last agony.

Velazquez, the mirror of an age

Spain was very lucky as far as its Court painters were concerned, as none of them were themselves courtiers; consequently, they never allowed their respect for the Royal House to blind them to the real nature of individual royal persons. The whole of the reign of Philip IV was recorded on canvas by Diego de Velázquez, whose portraits of Philip IV and the Conde-Duque de Olivares make an interesting comparison. Both men are shown on horseback: and there the similarity ends. The pale blue eyes of the king, are gazing at some far-off, vague horizon, whereas the penetrating black eyes of the Conde-Duque are staring straight at the viewer—a striking contrast between energy and weakness. These two images can help explain twenty years of Spanish history.

The way in which Velázquez treats military themes is highly interesting. His paintings include only one victory, which he represents, it should be noted, at the moment of peace: that is the *Surrender at Breda.* In it, greater emphasis is laid on the courteous gesture of Spinola, the victor, than on the actual battle itself, which, in any case, was already over. Indeed, most of his paintings display greater sarcasm than enthusiasm towards war. Whenever

Below: Surrender at Breda: or the Painting of the Lances. In this picture, the courtesy of the victor seems more important than the battle-field triumph itself.

Mars is depicted, it is usually in the form of a drunk, decked out in the costume of a clown; when the artist wishes to portray a scene from mythology, he shows Mercury revealing Venus' adultery to the deceived husband, Vulcan. His models were sometimes gentlemen from the court, but he more commonly used dwarfs and buffoons, symbols of a frivolous, decadent court, rather than an alert, strong monarchy, ready to do its historic duty.

In another painting, *Las Meninas*, the viewer is not sure whether he is within the picture or outside it; he cannot be sure where he is, and whether he is looking at a painting or being looked at from inside one. This picture is highly symbolic of the fluctuating, vague and uncertain situation which Spain found itself in during the 17th century: precisely the situation described in *La vida es sueño*.

Philip IV appears in his last portrait with melancholy, sunken eyes, close to dispair; this was the face of a man who realized that, by his deeds—or lack thereof—he had brought disaster to a monarchy which, at the beginning of his reign, had been triumphant and powerful. His grief was all the greater in that, as personal representative of

Below: An example of saintly charity among the poor: San Diego de Alcalá.

the nation, and having led a sinful life, he was quite sure that the misfortunes of his country were a punishment, sent specially by God, in retribution for the King's errors. This, at least, was how he explained events to Sister María de Agrado, his *confidante* during the closing years of his reign.

Despite his poor showing in political affairs, Philip IV was not wholly without merit, as his contribution to the arts was truly important. The same monarch who tired so quickly of documents and decision-making on political matters, leaving everything up to the Conde-Duque, was unstinting in his cultural endeavors. The "high marks for culture" to which I have referred above would have been amply justified if he had done no more than appoint Velázquez as Court painter, with a high salary which enabled him to paint when and wherever he pleased, and sent him off to Italy to buy many of the paintings which now hang in the Prado Museum, Madrid. Besides that, however, he was the protector of Calderón de la Barca, the Court chaplain, who was the author of the famous play *La Vida es Sueño*. He did much to foster the growth of the theater, and even wrote some quite good poetry himself, under the

Below: Las Meninas. A palace scene in which the observer cannot be sure if he is inside or outside of the picture—the same kind of doubts as were dealt with in Calderón's "La Vida es Sueno".

Right: This is how Velazquez saw the Conde-Duque, cocksure, and arrogant. Below: Murillo, the official painter of Virgins, also explored the world of street urchins.

pseudonym *Un ingenio de esta corte* ("a wit from this court").

Precisely when Spanish troops were losing on the battlefields of Europe, Spanish artists were achieving some of their greatest triumphs, on canvas and in writing. Other great painters of the period were Murillo and Ribera; Quevedo wrote a brilliant picaresque novel, called *El Buscón*, together with a great body of fine essays and poetry. In both these *genres*, he showed that he was what we would now call a *committed* writer, as he appealed, directly or anonymously, to the King to restore some semblance of order to his kingdom. His outspoken views were to land him in jail, on the orders of the Conde-Duque, though he later had the great satisfaction of surviving to see his jailer himself come to grief.

The theaters were well attended, by a public which wished to see Spain as they imagined it could be, rather than the way it actually was. Calderón's *Alcalde de Zalamea* depicts the arrogance of a peasant who is capable of killing no less than a captain, in order to avenge the honor of his daughter. Indeed, it was this honor, which involved the most fierce consequences, such as the murder of the supposedly guilty wife, that later appeared in his works *A secreto agravio, secreta venganza* (Secret revenge for a secret affront), *El médico de su honra* (The doctor of her honor), etc.

Tirso de Molina was to bring to life the most famous character of the Spanish theater, one who, hitherto, had been only partly depicted. *El burlador de Sevilla* created the *Don Juan* type, as he has come down to us, having passed through many versions in the process. He is a man who defies God in the satisfaction of his passions, and is quite unrepentant in the way he plays with the hearts of women.

Charles II: the last agony of Spain

It was almost as if he personally symbolized a moribund Spain. Charles II was sad and delicate, with a face in which the distinctive features of the House of Austria, especially their protrusive jaws, which had been taken to the point of sheer caricature. While the state of the economy went from bad to worse, there was a power struggle among the highest-placed favorites and courtiers during the young king's minority. One of the contenders was Padre Withard, the *protégé* of the regent queen, and her confessor; another was Valenzuela, a classless adventurer who, after endless palace intrigues, was succeeded by John of Austria, who, like his namesake, was the illegitimate son of a king. However, whereas the victor of Lepanto had inherited certain qualities from Charles V, the son of Philip IV and the famous actress La Calderona, proved to be a vain, petulant man, whose record on the battlefield was as unimpressive as his political thinking.

It was this weakened Spain which was now confronted with a new, deified France, whose *Roi-Soleil*, surrounded by his entire court, went to the scene of the fighting in Flanders as if it were a royal entertainment. Territories still subservient to Madrid were fair game, under any pretext; in a series of treaties which it was powerless to resist, Spain found itself on the losing side in the Peace of Nimega (1678) and Ratisbonne (1684), obliged to surrender the very best of the fortresses which it had held along the once formidable noose-like frontier with France.

The Genovese envoy to Madrid had the following interesting comments to make, in 1687: "In some garrisons, I have seen soldiers who were barefoot, with their swords tied on a bit of string to their belts, broken, exhausted men who were in such pain that it was pitiful to look at them."

Towards the end of the century, French ambitions grew to such an extent that the terms of the successive peace treaties became very severe indeed . . . until, all of a sudden, at Riswick, Paris began to show generosity to its defeated enemy. However, it had a reason for acting in this way; why take even more land away from a country which, in the fairly near future, may become French anyway? As it was, once the possibility of Princess Marie-Louise de Bourbon producing an heir had come to nought, Charles II was certain to be the last king of the House of Austria in Spain.

This piece of intelligence was not lost on other European states, which were planning carefully the strategy they would adopt when he died. Within a hundred years, the Power which had been master of the world was about to be shared out among France, England and Holland. Out of indignation at this prospect, Charles II named Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria; but he died. Further pressures were brought to bear, and another attempt was made at partition of the Spanish possessions. Charles II, disheartened and exhausted by all these developments, decided to leave his crown to the one pretender who, being stronger than the others, stood the best chance of holding together the vast Spanish legacy. He was Philip of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV.

Right: An astounding decision taken by the Catholic King Charles III: the Order of the Society of Jesus is expelled from Spain.

8 The 18th Century

The 18th century.
French influence in Spain

Civil war—this time, known as the War of the Spanish Succession—had returned to Spain. While Castille and the area which had been associated with it since the Middle Ages welcomed the arrival of Philip V, as the new king of Spain, Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Islands decided, instead, to recognize Charles, Archduke of Austria, as their sovereign. He chose to call himself Charles III. In this dispute, the Catalonians favored the representative of a royal house which had humiliated them in 1640, and rejected the grandson of the man who had defended them in that same year. It is quite possible that they had grown distrustful of the French system of government, which, since Richelieu, had shown a particular fondness for unification, and for the centralized State.

In common with all the civil wars which have been fought in Spain, this one involved various foreign Powers. The Archduke of Austria was supported by England and Holland, plus his own country. What disturbed these allies most was not the possible restoration of the former dynasty in Madrid, but the prospect of Louis XIV becoming master of Europe, with or without the help of his family. This bitter struggle was to last for seven years. Two victories in Spain, at Almansa and Brihuesa, were to weigh heavily in Philip's favor, though peace did not come until Louis XIV realized that, in order for his grandson to be recognized as King of Spain, the country would have to give up much of its previous power; in other words, it would have to become less dangerous. The Treaty of Utrecht, 1714, recognized Philip V as King of Spain and the Indies, while he abandoned all rights to the French crown and all claims to unite the two crowns; at the same time, he lost Belgium, the Franche-Comté, and the whole of Italy, the north of which passed to Austria, while the Duke of Savoy took the south, with Sicily. Moreover, he had to cede a strategic point on Spanish territory: Gibraltar, which was taken by England, on behalf of Archduke Charles. Quite soon, the British

Right: A French palace for a reigning family of Gallic origin—the royal residence of La Granja, close to the Sierra de Guadarrama.

realized its great value at an entrance to the Mediterranean, and decided to keep it, with the result that it is still in British hands today.

Philip V failed to recover Gibraltar, but he did capture Barcelona, which, though still faithful to the Archduke, found that, when help was most needed, he had abandoned the city to its fate. After the victory, Philip issued an edict which was to cause grave concern among Catalonians generally, known as the *Nueva Planta* (1707). After accusing the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia of treason and rebellion, the king went on as follows:

"I deem it fitting, in order that all my kingdoms in Spain shall have the same customs, procedures and courts, all being equally governed by the laws of Castille, that all the said special rights shall be abolished and revoked forthwith . . ."

Where the Conde-Duque had failed, a Frenchman, in pursuance of his tradition of centralized authority, now succeeded. The Catalonian *fueros*, or special rights, whereby the inhabitants of Catalonia were entitled to have their own laws and customs, disappeared, and were not granted again until 1931, under the Spanish Republic; when Franco came to power, they disappeared again, as a result of a decision couched in much the same language as had been used by Philip V a century and a half before.

This measure was bitterly resented in most of Catalonia, though feelings in Valencia and the Balearic Islands were generally less hostile. Chancellor Casanova, who lost his life in the defense of Barcelona, was widely regarded in the region as a symbol of lost freedoms. However, it is safe to say that unification brought distinct advantages to Catalonia, which was

Below: Charles III, perhaps the best king Spain ever had. He managed to surround himself with enlightened advisers, in order to bring Spain closer to Europe.

entering upon a period of economic and industrial growth at the time. While the Catalonians did lose their local freedoms, the Bourbons granted them national freedoms, by allowing them to send their products across the entire country without paying internal customs duty. This liberal attitude on trade was to extend to the trade of the New World, as the decree of 1778 allowed the eastern ports to share in the trade of the Indies, which had been the monopoly of Seville ever since the times of the Catholic Monarchs.

The Bourbons began to cast Spain in quite a different mold; they pursued a policy of unification for the whole country, a diminished role for the Church, and a bigger role for the State, which henceforth intervened even in cultural matters, for example, by founding the Royal Spanish Academy (1715), along the lines of the French Academy.

The country's new domestic order began to produce dividends in foreign affairs. With ministers like Alberoni, Spain began to recover some of its lost international influence, though any

Below: A temperate, methodical man with only one great passion: hunting.

sign of its power becoming unduly great brought an immediate response from ever-vigilant England and Austria, who were anxious to ensure that the Mediterranean should not be a Franco-Spanish sea. The first Bourbons did manage, however, to return to Italy by diplomatic means, having once been expelled from that same country by force of arms. One Spanish *Infante* (meaning any royal son other than the heir) was made Duke of Parma and Plasencia, while another, the future Charles III of Spain, became King of Naples and Sicily. By the middle of the 18th century, and despite the reconstruction of both army and navy, and a great number of public works, Spain had achieved a stable budget, and its economy was at last in some kind of order.

These advantages had been brought about by a new minority which was now coming to power. Today, we would call them technocrats, experts on various economic matters, who were called into the Government, regardless of whether or not they were of noble lineage. Campomanes, Ensenada, Arianda and Floridablanca gradually built a new Spain.

However, their activities met with an indignant response from large segments of the old Spain. Indeed, the emergence, for the first time, of two Spains was the major, and, in a sense, the most disturbing feature of the 18th century. Whereas, in the 17th century, both nobles and peasants had held much the same sort of opinions—total devotion to the Church, and respect for the "necessary" Inquisition, keen nationalist sentiment which viewed Spain as a country chosen by God to triumph in the world, with France as its natural enemy—in the 18th century, two vastly different schools of thought came into being.

Below: Another painter who, while in the court, was not a courtier, has given us a faithful reflection of the Spain of his day in this portrait of a bland, insipid and dull Charles IV.

There was a "European" minority, which, in an age of French ascendancy, meant "Parisian." Those who held such views wore powdered wigs, used Gallic turns of speech in their conversation, had Masonic friends and believed in Reason. The majority, on the other hand, went about in big *chambergos* (round, uncocked hats), and long capes, had nothing good to say about French influence, distrusted the Masons, and even rejected the Missals which were being introduced as a replacement for the rosary in church. This group believed only in Faith.

In the struggle between the two groups, the minority, despite its lack of numbers, enjoyed the extremely valuable support of those in power. Philip V, Ferdinand VI and Charles III all approved their efforts to change Spain. Their influence was to prove decisive, because, in addition to French mannerisms, they had imported a French political theory, absolutism, whereby the king is a father, who knows more fully what is good for his children-subjects than they do themselves, and who accordingly dictates the laws of the country, despite their resistance.

Tradition and renewal thus waged a constant struggle, though they sometimes formed a curious symbiosis, which is personified in Charles III. Here was a Spaniard of pure and ancient lineage, who went to Mass every day, could not bear to have atheists anywhere near him and compelled the university professors to believe in the Immaculate Conception, but who, at the same time, was very much a European, in tune with his age, who put an end to the practice of granting delinquents asylum in churches, forbade burials in church, banished no less a man than the Inquisitor General because he had pro-

Below: The Francophile policies of the Bourbons led to English hostility. Cadiz, being a commercial port and an important link with the New World, was the prime target of the British Navy.

mulgated a Bull without his permission, and, finally, expelled the Jesuits from Spain!

These last two decisions were due equally to the decline in respect for the Church and to the king's certainty about his responsibilities as an absolute monarch. The fact was that his responsibilities could not be shared with anyone, not even the Pope. Philip II would have agreed wholeheartedly with Charles III, despite their differences in other respects, that the Pope could not issue instructions in Spain without the royal assent, not even on matters of conscience. Unfortunately for the Jesuits, they had a fourth vow, in addition to the three common ones of poverty, chastity and obedience, which made them the soldiers of the Pope. This was why they had already been expelled from France and Portugal. They were expelled from Spain in 1766, to the great consternation of the Pope: a Catholic king ordering out of Spain an Order which had been founded there? In his reply, Charles III alluded to "reasons of State" and other secrets which "I reserve in my Royal Mind."

The mention of "reasons of State" doubtless had to do with the influence which the Jesuits were thought to have had on the incident known as the Esquilache Mutiny. This minister—of Italian origin, and correspondingly disliked by the people of Madrid, insisted that the inhabitants of the capital should wear European-style clothes, the three-cornered hat and short cape, instead of their traditional round *chambergos* and long cape, which, in his opinion, made it possible for many criminals to go undetected. The ordinary people had endured much more serious reforms than this without reacting, but they regarded this compulsory wearing of modern dress as quite intolerable; when the guards, accompanied by a tailor, starting apprehending passers-by and

pushing into doorways in order to alter their style of dress, rebellion broke out. It soon turned into a full-scale revolution which lasted several days, and ended only with the fall from power of Esquilache, to the satisfaction of the masses, who were quite literally up in arms. In the minds of many, such an extreme reaction to a command issued by the city police might well have been the work of elements opposed to the reforms envisaged by the ministers of Charles III—first and foremost, the Jesuits. Of course, it is possible that the Esquilache decree, despite its apparent triviality, was the single extra drop of water which caused the anger of traditional Spain at the doings of the reformers to overflow at last. As it happened, the advocates of reform succeeded, a few months later, in getting the people of Madrid to change their style of dress, though it did so by subtle means, rather than by force.

Charles III was probably the best of the kings of Spain, not because he was strikingly intelligent, but because he surrounded himself by people who were, such as Aranda and Floridablanca. During his reign, the relatively few monuments of note in the capital were erected: the Palacio Real was finished, and the Prado Museum and the Ministerio de la Hacienda were built, as were the superb gates of Alcalá and Toledo. The privileges of the Mesta throughout the Spanish countryside were revoked; certain parts of Andalusia were settled, with varying success, with groups from abroad (Carolina); highways, canals and ports were built, to the acclaim of the poets of the day, who showed the kind of enthusiasm about them which might have been inspired, in poets of an earlier age, by military victories. In the social sphere, a decree was passed in 1783 declaring that the manual trades, such as that of carpenter and cobbler, did not debase those who performed them and were no obstacle to the attainment of nobility. In this same highly revolutionary document, Charles III even went so far as to say that if there were a family of craftsmen with three generations, it could acquire the title of noble.

If this law had been put into effect, it would have widened access to the nobility, exactly as had been done in Holland and England, and would have drawn into the system represented by the monarchy a large body of Spanish people of humble origins.

But it was not to be: the decree made only a slight impact on Spanish customs, and, until the 20th century, a military or diplomatic career was virtually the only way to aspire to membership of the Spanish aristocracy.

The foreign policy of Charles III

The common sense and practicality which had been so characteristic of Charles III's domestic policies were quite absent from his treatment of foreign affairs. While King of Naples, he had been placed in the humiliating position of having to declare himself neutral, as the British fleet threatened to shell the city if he refused; this experience, which he never forgot, may help explain why he allowed his foreign policy to be very much tied to that of France. The Family Pacts (the Bourbon family, of course) linked Spain and France together, thus inflicting on Spain the consequences, particularly at sea, of being an enemy of the mighty Great Britain. For example, Spain helped the young United States by supplying provisions and money during the War of Independence against the former metropolitan Power. Aranda was intelligent enough to realize the dangers implied in that policy for the future presence of Spain in the New World. If it was all right for the settlers in the north to become independent of England, why could not those in the south free themselves from Spain? In a confidential report, he showed how difficult it was to keep huge regions under a single command, and proposed that they be divided into three zones, each to be under a Spanish Infante. Unfortunately, his advice was utterly ignored.

Although the history of the Spanish

Below, right: Another favorite at the pinnacle of power. Goya shows us a handsome, plump and ambitious Godoy, who was much criticized for his performance as Prime Minister.

New World in the 18th century was less spectacular than that of the 16th, nonetheless, the same improvements as were introduced in the metropolitan country were also put into effect in the Latin-American continent: administration and organization were greatly enhanced. Scientific, instead of military expeditions now made their way westward, while at the same time, the Spanish presence was actively maintained throughout the continent. In a quirk of history, Spain and Russia shared a common border for a while in California; when settlers from Mexico, and Russians coming south from Alaska, met near the site of the present Canadian border.

The events of 1793, a famous year in French history, had severe repercussions on Spain. Louis XVI had been guillotined, and, Spain, in the person of its king, Charles IV, a nephew of the deceased French king, found itself obliged to declare war on its neighbor.

These two events were important in that the advocates of traditional values were given confirmation of their fears about the harmful influences which the "Enlightenment" could let loose on the world. "We told you so!" they seemed to be saying; "we knew that no good could come of the new doctrines."

For the same reasons, the reformers and liberals felt sorely let down and dismayed, as if a faithful wife or a close friend had betrayed them. Some of the harshest criticism of France came from a man who had believed that it was a country which was going to bring new and logical ideas to the world, for the greater happiness of all mankind. Melchor de Jovellanos addressed the following words to the Spanish soldiers as they set off to do battle in France:

"At your approach, the fierce chimera, pale with fear, turns and flees, while the unholy tricolor still flies aloft . . . Woe betide the foolish nation which has offended Heaven by daring to raise its bloodstained hand against the Anointed One!"

The execution of Louis XVI had created a gulf between the Francophiles of the 18th century and their former friends. The reforms advocated by the men of the Enlightenment had never gone so far as to call for the overthrow of the monarchy; indeed, they regarded it as a vital component, since the royal authority would be the only way to persuade the ignorant masses that the reforms were in their best interests.

Another curious feature of the reaction to events in France was the attitude of Abbot Marchena, who was to end his days in the service of the French revolutionaries, but who, initially, reacted in the same manner as Jovellanos. "These rebels have gone too far," he said. As an educated man, he was astonished at the force of the lower classes in Paris; he had never expected mere manual workers to be capable of such intellectual belligerence. If they were to take to the streets, what unspeakable horrors might be perpetrated?

"Where the proletariat exercises its horrendous rule, what social bond is there which will be safe from their violence?"

However, at the end of the *Epístola a José Sanz sobre la libertad política*, he warns against over-simplification:

"It is a dangerous sophistry to confuse the savage violence of the unbridled masses and the great movements of a nation's history."

9 The Napoleonic Period

The weakness of Charles IV; the strength of Goya

In the 18th century, the principles of Reason were a major influence on culture, government and art. The Baroque style, with its frenzied, twisted shapes and abundance of unnecessary detail, which had been typical of the 17th century, was clearly unacceptable in the Age of Enlightenment. Instead, the new style of architecture and painting was to be classical, drawing its inspiration from the ancient Greek and Roman models, which represented perfection itself.

This was so, at least, until along came Goya, who, like his master Mengs, broke away from the perfect, finely etched line, and, in a great outpouring of genius which lasted for thirty years, took painting out of the 18th century, and into the 20th, inventing Impressionism and even Expressionism in the process. He swept through the art of his age like a hurricane, upsetting all previously accepted ideas, and introducing a new palette, with new perspective and new depth. The quest for objective, "photographic" representation which had preoccupied artists before him was now abandoned in favor of political, social and human protest. Such ideas are embodied in his *Caprichos, Desastres de la Guerra*, etc.

Like Velázquez, Goya had the good fortune to be appointed Court painter; the king in question was quite as weak as Philip IV, but much less intelligent: Charles IV. Goya painted a portrait of his family which gives one a profound insight into the history of the period: the arrogant, cocksure figure of the queen, María Luisa; the jolly, plump, rather bovine Charles IV, and the malice and cunning which were so visible in the eyes of the prince, Ferdinand.

One of the main figures of the period is missing, however, from this painting. He is Manual Godoy. Seeking to resemble Philip IV as much as possible, Charles IV also had a favorite; the only trouble was that, according to various accounts, he was also rather a special favorite of the queen, María Luisa. Popular opinion found it outrageous that this former common soldier should have reached the very height of distinction, going so far as to acquire the title of Prince, which hitherto had been reserved exclusively for members of the Royal Family. Having lost a war against the French Revolution, the all-powerful Prime Minister was also given the title Prince of Peace.

Meanwhile, in France, Napoleon had subdued the forces of revolution, and, in an expansive vein, now turned his attention towards the Spain of

Left: The powerful head of an artist who swept Spanish painting along from the classicism of Mengs to Impressionism. A self-portrait of Goya.

Charles IV, an easy prey, in his opinion. After all, the king's wife was having an affair with his Prime Minister, while, in the Court, young Ferdinand was conspiring against his parents; the country as a whole was on the side of the young Prince, feeling that he was the victim of the animosity of his mother and her lover. Besides this, the nation was sharply divided between a majority which was stubbornly opposed to reform and a few liberals who advocated them, having to contend with an ignorant clergy and an Inquisition which, after the measures adopted by Charles III, was beginning to show signs of unrest. Such a scene was obviously badly in need of a Napoleon, the master of Europe, to restore a semblance of order to Spanish affairs, and to close off the Peninsula to the English, who alone had proved able to withstand him, and who had, in fact, defeated both him and his Spanish allies at the battle of Trafalgar (1805).

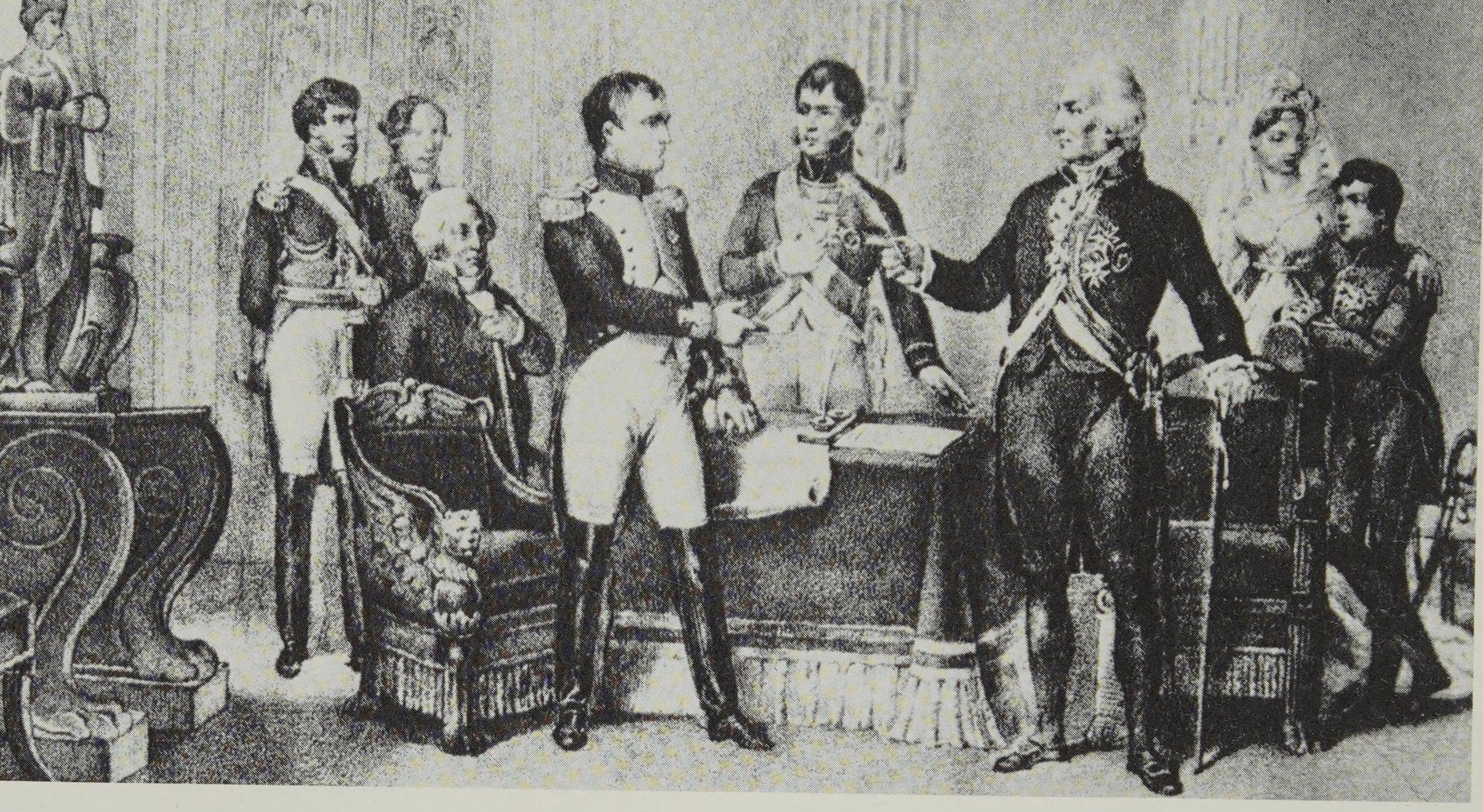
The initial response to his intervention seemed to confirm his feelings about Spain: the members of the Royal Family vied with each other to seek the favor of the French Emperor. The monarchs and Godoy competed shamelessly with Ferdinand and his faction in order to enjoy Napoleon's protection. A popular uprising, in March 1808, proclaimed Ferdinand VII as king, and removed Godoy from office, the Prime Minister's life being saved only by the timely arrival of French troops who had entered Spain officially on their way to Portugal. The ancient alliance which existed between that country and England had to be broken if Napoleon's planned Continental Blockade was to succeed. Napoleon then summoned a meeting of the members of the Royal Family, rather as if they had been his personal servants, at Bayonne; there followed a humiliating scene, the likes of which had not occurred even during the period of Austrian decadence. Every

Popular uprising against Napoleon in Madrid. The Moorish cavalry of the French, the Mameluks, attacked by Spanish peasants whose anger was not matched by their weapons.

single member of the family meekly did Napoleon's bidding: Ferdinand handed back the crown to his father Charles IV, who then passed it to the Emperor, who, in turn, bestowed it on his brother Joseph I, previously King of Naples, as a part of the dynastic chess-game by which Napoleon intended to impose his will on Europe.

The events of May 2, 1808, were similar to the Esquilache uprising: some peasants went roaming around the streets of Madrid, killing any Frenchmen they found; and, while these ordinary civilians were in action, the Madrid garrison, continuing to obey the royal orders, did nothing, with the exception of a few officers, Ruiz, Daciz and Velarde, who disobeyed and moved their cannon into the streets. The response of the seasoned French troops was swift and brutal. Goya's two paintings, *El dos de mayo en la Puerta del Sol*, and *Los fusilamientos del 3 de mayo*, have preserved for ever an event which was of particular significance in that it marked the first incident in the national uprising against France.

Spain was now a country without a



Top left: In Bayonne, Napoleon decided the fate of Spain: Ferdinand VII abdicated in favor of his father, and Charles IV in favor of Napoleon, who then ceded the crown of Spain to his brother Joseph. Bottom left: The result of the uprising against well-armed troops. The executions by firing squad in Moncloa, Madrid, on May 3, were immortalized by Goya in this painting. Below: Madrid surrenders to Napoleon.

head, as its monarchs were in Bayonne. When the "Intruder," as the people promptly dubbed their new French ruler, arrived in Madrid, the country reacted as it had always done in the past on such occasions, by forming isolated regional movements. Autonomous *Juntas* were formed in Asturias—which was now, as it had been against the Moors, the first region to strike back—Seville, Santander and Galicia. Some of these Juntas declared that they had supreme authority, and that since they were the only valid ones, all the others would have to follow their lead.

Sporadic, and therefore ineffectual, armed resistance had begun. Against the experienced troops of Napoleon or his brother Joseph, the Spanish forces were helpless. It is true that they did defeat the French a number of times, for example, in a conventional engagement at Bailén, but this, and their victory at El Bruch, were isolated incidents. Shortly after Bailén, Napoleon entered Spain and swept away everything in his path, as he moved swiftly to Madrid, where he put his brother back in the palace; then he dispatched an army which caused the English troops, who had just arrived to open a second front against the enemy of England, to embark hurriedly from Corunna, in Galicia. Wherever the invading armies went, the few Spanish soldiers who, at last, had emerged from their barracks, simply vanished before them.

However, French control of the country was strictly limited to the immediate vicinity of their armed forces.

Contact between two garrisons more than a few miles apart was out of the question; couriers had to have an armed escort in order to carry a message from one French general to another. This was because the outbreak of regional resistance had been accompanied, as always, by the beginning of guerrilla warfare, a highly Spanish phenomenon. Isolated groups of men, wearing the most bizarre uniforms, or no uniforms at all, struck at the French whenever they could; however, their inability to unite against their common enemy was, for many years, a grave handicap. Indeed, they even fought among themselves from time to time.

Even so, their skill at the lightning raid, followed by a swift disappearance into the surrounding countryside, was remarkable. They would disrupt communications, attack couriers, and wipe out rear-guard units which had allowed themselves to become too separated from the main body of the army. These guerrilla units constantly harassed the French army; they were greatly helped by their knowledge of the terrain, and by the thousands of voluntary spies who kept them informed about the movements of the enemy. The major Spanish cities were all still in French hands . . . all but one, Cádiz. A Supreme National Junta was formed there, and was followed shortly afterwards by a Regency. At last, the disorganized anarchic popular resistance was beginning to acquire some legal and administrative structure.

One of the most curious things about the War of Independence is precisely the nature of that incipient structure, and, above all, the ideological gap between the front line and the rear. Most of the guerrillas themselves were simple-minded men with

Ferdinand is named prince and royal heir, in a solemn political and religious ceremony. He did not await his turn to reign.

very little education. The French were the enemy in two ways; they were foreigners and they were also the enemies of Religion. All of the traditional distrust of the French attitude to the Catholic Church, which had done much to thwart the measures applied by the ministers of the 18th century, now came well and truly to the fore; the ordinary clergy joined the fray, shotgun in hand, like so many peasants.

The French were the sons of the Revolution, and were, therefore, responsible for the fall of the Church, and for the death of the Anointed One, Louis XVI, at Reims. A new kind of catechism came into being:

"What are the French?

—Lapsed Christians and modern heretics.

—What has led them into such slavery?

—False philosophy and corruption."

Starting from such basic premises, it is not surprising to find the following question in a catechism of this sort:

"Is it a sin to kill a Frenchman?

—No, father; it is a meritorious deed to free the country from these violent oppressors."

Such was the thinking of the masses which had always been suspicious of France. But the minority in Cádiz, those who were about to draft a new constitution, were the "enlightened ones," those who, throughout the 18th century, had sought to guide Spain towards Europe. The "enlightened ones" found themselves in an excruciating dilemma. Joseph I had come along with a program which any one of them would have endorsed, as it was in accord with the ideas they had always maintained: the Inquisition would be abolished, a limit would be placed on the number of religious houses, the privileges of the nobility would be circumscribed, more schools would be opened, etc.

Meanwhile, they were dragging the country through a trial of fire and blood, seeking to impose their brand of Reason by force of arms. Some of the "enlightened ones," when confronted with the choice between Country and Idea, aligned themselves with Joseph I. They included the economist Cabarrus, and Moratín; even Goya, who had been knighted by the *Intruso*, in a new Order established by him. However, the majority, under the essayist Jovellanos, took the position described in the following extract from a letter he wrote to the French General Sebastini, who was astonished to find a liberal on the side of the Old Spain:

"We are not, as you claim, fighting for the Inquisition, nor for the interests of the Spanish nobility; we are fighting for the precious rights of our king, our religion, our constitution, and our independence."

As far as the Constitution was concerned, while the guerrillas at the front thought only of the absolute monarch and the "eternal Spanish values," Jovellanos and his colleagues, back in Cádiz, were drafting a constitution which resembled nothing more closely than the French constitution of 1791. The instrument in question, dated 1812, abolished the Inquisition, censorship, feudal fishing and hunting rights, together with serfdom, and declared that, henceforth, the King would have to abide by whatever the Cortes decided.

During this same period, the various parts of the New World went their own way, invoking the collapse of the traditional monarchy, and exercising, in the process, the same rights as the other Spanish regions. The claim of

Below: Ferdinand VII portrayed by Goya in all the splendor of his ceremonial robes and with all his malice visible in his face.

the *Junta Suprema* of Cádiz to act on behalf of the former government was greeted with open derision in Venezuela, which proclaimed its independence in July 1811, on the grounds that its former monarchical link with the metropolitan country had now been broken.

The Spanish War of Independence ended in 1814 when the defeat of Napoleon enabled Ferdinand to return to the throne of his ancestors. However, the war of independence of the Spanish people was just about to begin; the point at issue was the extent to which foreign oppression should be replaced by internal oppression.

Unfortunately, many Spaniards, including the masses who had fought relentlessly against Napoleon, were in agreement with absolutist ideas; their thinking consisted of a blend of nationalism and tradition, plus the notion that French was synonymous with revolutionary. They were led by the lower clergy, that is, by relatively uneducated, but fanatical, priests and friars.

On the other side, the liberals had in their ranks the higher clergy; indeed, it was a cardinal, the Cardinal de Borbón, president of the Regency, who greeted King Ferdinand, who, according to the Cortes, could not become king until he had sworn allegiance to the Constitution of 1812. Ferdinand stretched out his hand for the cardinal to kiss—as a sign of obedience, whereupon the astonished prelate did just that. This gesture was symbolic of a huge leap backwards along the path of Spanish freedoms. The Constitution of 1812 was abolished, the deputies who had voted for it were banished or put in jail: Ferdinand VII was the absolute king of Spain.

These developments merely hastended the loss of the overseas provinces. Bolívar, San Martín, O'Higgins and all the other heroes of Latin-American independence were very much men of the 18th century, i.e., enlightened and democratic, and their rebellion against Spanish authority received a great stimulus from the renewed suppression of freedom in the metropolitan country. One by one, the provinces rebelled and formed independent governments, primarily as a result of a *criollo* movement, that is, one involving Spaniards who had been born in the New World, and who had suffered quite enough discrimination from the peninsula. The attitude shown by the authorities in Madrid frequently bordered on complete contempt; for example, no Spanish king had ever taken the trouble, in three hundred and fifty years, to cross the seas and see his provinces for himself. And *provinces* they were,

Below: The first attempts at liberal rule after the return to the throne of Ferdinand VII. General Riego rose up in support of the Constitution, to the acclaim of the crowd. Yet the same crowd, shortly afterwards, applauded as he walked to the scaffold.

because the Viceroyalties of New Spain, Peru and La Plata were never *colonies*, which, in any case, is a 19th-century term. However, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Philippines and the Marianas, which were Spain's last possessions, were colonies.

Historians of all shades of opinion are unanimous about Ferdinand VII. Not even the most conservative among them could say anything in defense of an attitude which combined pride with duplicity, petulance and cowardice. When the army, under Riego, rebelled in 1820 and forced him to restore the 1812 Constitution, he accepted it with fulsome praise, while, at the same time, he was making clandestine preparations for a return to absolutist rule, with the help of the Holy Alliance, an association of European kings who liked to pretend that the French Revolution with its political, social and national consequences, had never happened. The entry into Spain of the 100,000 Sons of Saint Louis showed that the Spanish masses did not react to invaders when they came in support of ideas which were acceptable to those masses, such as that of the absolute monarchy. In 1823, the liberals either emigrated or were put in jail, and Ferdinand became absolute monarch once more. This state of affairs lasted for another ten years. From their

Left: The Regent Maria Cristina with her son who, as Alfonso XIII, was to reign in the first third of the twentieth century.

prison cells, or from exile abroad—this being the second of many occasions on which disagreement with the central authority was to mean exile for Spanish liberals—all that the liberals could do was pour out their feelings in verse and prose; though there were a few suicidal gestures, such as that made by Torrijos. Meanwhile, Ferdinand, with the support of a purged army and the broad masses of the population, whom he kept in the most total ignorance, continued to rule Spain.

Astonishingly enough, the greatest danger was to come, not from the left, but from the far right. With advancing age, the king's capacity for repression grew weaker, particularly after his marriage to a woman of liberal background, María Cristina. A group known as the *Apostólicos*, formed around the king's brother, the Infante Don Carlos. The dynastic dispute over whether or not Ferdinand's daughter, Isabel, could be queen, was merely the superficial manifestation of a much deeper division in Spanish society. The traditionalists, the defenders of the Inquisition and the absolute monarchy supported Don Carlos. When Ferdinand VII died, his brother began an armed movement, based in two traditionally-oriented regions, the Basque provinces and parts of the mountainous areas of Catalonia.

The result was the Carlist Wars, which were to cast their shadow over the whole rest of the century. The first, and most serious, lasted from 1833 to 1840. The Carlists were especially strong in their mountain bastions, as their followers in those areas were defending not only their ideas but also their homes. Cristina's troops, who were generally ill-paid

Below: The Regent, Queen Cristina and her daughter Isabel, heiress to the throne, inspecting the liberal troops. "Long live the child queen!" was the governmental war-cry against the Carlists.

The Pretender Carlos, with his General Staff. The photographer used a background of painted mountains which may have been symbolic of the mountains of Navarre, where the Carlists were almost constantly in control, while in the rest of Spain their influence was slight.

and poorly led, never succeeded in dislodging them. However, the Carlist troops, particularly hard hit by the death of one of their best generals, Zumalacárregui, never did take a major city in which to set up a "capital," despite repeated attacks on Bilbao, and had to content themselves with Estella, in Navarre.

In Catalonia, the Carlists achieved a number of successes under Cabrera, a brilliant guerrilla leader, with all the daring, courage and cruelty that that implies. However, their advances, though sometimes brilliant, were never pressed to their conclusion, and therefore produced only partial results.

Both sides in the Carlist Wars committed acts of great cruelty. Prisoners were killed as a matter of course, while prisoners and even hostages, including Cabrera's mother, were executed by way of reprisals. Spaniards were beginning to find it natural to do away with each other when their ideas differed; and this was a century in which they differed totally, and in which the two Spains had really declared war on each other.

As a reaction to the presence in north and north-east Spain of an army opposed to the Constitution, there was a great increase in left-wing activity in Madrid. The fact that the clergy in the northern provinces was almost entirely Carlist, with priests such as Merino and Echevarría fighting along-side the troops, caused a violent anti-clerical reaction in Madrid, Valencia and Barcelona. All members of the clergy were treated alike. During the three years of liberal rule, Padre Vinuesa had been assassinated on the grounds that he was an absolutist. In 1835, during an epidemic, rumors spread throughout the working class areas of Madrid to the effect that the religious had poisoned the water supply. The slaughter of nuns which immediately followed was the first of several such episodes which occurred whenever the Left felt itself threatened by the Right.

One of the ablest and most intelligent Spanish politicians of the period, Martínez de la Rosa, had done his utmost, in 1920–23, to put an end to excesses like these, and find the point of equilibrium between freedom and order—but to no avail. As the Right had openly abandoned constitutional politics by giving its support to Don Carlos, the government of the time was left with no alternative but to rely on the moderate Left, in order to restrain the violence of the extreme Left. This meant a return to the 1812 Constitution which was now accompanied by a measure which one would hardly have expected from Catholic Spain: the sale of properties belonging to the clergy, the military orders, confraternities, etc. Mendizábal's idea was a good one: a body of wealth which was, both literally and figuratively, cloistered and immobile, would be fed into the economy, and allowed to go into circulation. It was intended that this wealth would be distributed amongst a broad sector of society which would, in return, be loyal to a system which had given it economic security, just as the French Revolution had done. building a network of complicity, and certainly of cooperation, among a middle class which had benefited greatly from the re-distribution.

Unfortunately, like so many Spanish initiatives of great merit, this one was poorly carried out. Most of the buyers were aristocrats and landowners; the wealth which was to have been distributed among many found its way into the hands of a few, who amassed great fortunes. Even so, the Church had been dealt a severe blow, from which it took a long time to recover, as it had lost, besides much of its wealth, almost half of its clergy, all in a matter of a few years.

10 A Century of Upheaval

The generals come to power

As a result of the Carlist Wars, there was an increase in both clerical and anti-clerical violence, and the Church became associated in the minds of many people with the political Right. Yet the consequences for military themselves were even greater, as they now found themselves, for the first time, courted and praised by the various political factions, at the very center of the national scene. The weakness of the monarchy—a Regent, and a child Queen—could have been their best means of defense, out of a chivalrous sense of protection for the incapable; however, the crowned heads of Spain had few admirable qualities. María Cristina, who vacillated constantly between Right and Left, had lost the respect of her subjects by her morganatic marriage to a member of the Corps of Guards, by the name of Muñoz. This made it possible for a general who had risen from the ranks—Baldomero Espartero—to capitalize on the popularity he had won by ending the Carlist War, with the Vergara Agreement (1840) in order to have himself appointed Head of Government, and then, after some preliminary talks with Cristina, Regent. For the first time in Spanish history, a soldier of fortune held the

Left: Juan Prim, perhaps the most intelligent and well-trained of the liberal Generals of the 19th century. He was assassinated in 1870. Below: The only foreign military venture in the 19th century in which Spaniards preferred to kill each other: the war with Morocco and the triumphant entry into Tetuan in 1860.

highest post in the country, although, officially, young Isabel was still Queen.

Other generals were to follow in his footsteps. Having been in command of a few divisions on the battlefield, many military men felt confident that they would have no trouble running the whole country. Indeed, from 1840 to 1875, the Spanish political scene was one continuous to and fro of generals contending for power. Most of them, such as Serrano, O'Donnell and Prim, were men of liberal persuasion; others, like Narváez, were moderates or conservatives; but all of them were quite sure they had been chosen by Divine Providence to manage the destiny of their country.

For the greater part of the period referred to above, the generals in question had to take into account the person of Queen Isabel II, who was less favorably disposed to some than to others. Even the most generous of historians have simply noted that she was, by nature, a kind person, and had had such an unfortunate education that it would have been amazing if she had turned out, at the end of it, to be a competent ruler.

Of course, this was an area in which she failed utterly. She was frivolous, to the point of absurdity, for example, when she placed her lovers in high government posts—Court gossip

Left: Maria Cristina. She came from Austria to perform the difficult task of replacing the much-lamented Queen Mercedes. On the death of Alfonso XII, she proved to be a worthy Regent

particularly singled out the handsome General Serrano; and she could also be fanatically religious, to the point of allowing her standing in the eyes of the country to be gravely harmed by her relationship with Sor Patrocinio, a nun who was a kind of female Rasputin. When a general was expelled, he would make a *pronunciamiento*—a Spanish expression which has been borrowed by other languages, meaning that he *pronounced* himself to be the most intelligent and capable of all the contenders for power. The general who was in power then tried to defeat him, and, if he failed, would withdraw to await a more opportune moment. As a result, there was a veritable minuet of officers at the highest levels of government, as O'Donnell, Narváez, Serrano, and others, came and went; eventually, however, the Queen's intrigues led to the formation of a coalition against her. In 1868, after the Battle of Alcolea, she was forced into exile, and the Bourbon monarchy had evidently come to the end of the road in Spain.

The quest for a ruler, meanwhile, had led nowhere, as each of the generals felt at least as well qualified as the others to assume control of the country's affairs. Serrano became Regent, but the liberal Prim, who was probably the most gifted and intelligent of them all, turned to a foreign king who, being untainted by the discredit of the House of Bourbon, might perhaps have proved to be a ruler acceptable to all the dissenting factions. He was Amadeus of Savoy. Unfortunately, no-one found him to their liking. His final speech, in which he withdrew from the Spanish political scene, was a perfect dissection of the ills of the country.

"If the enemies of this country's destiny were foreigners . . . I would be

Below: A liberal general who was to reach the highest position of power: Espartero enters Madrid, to the enthusiastic greetings of the people, on being proclaimed Regent.

the first to fight them; but all those who, by military force, their writings or their speech, are adding to the distress of this Nation are Spaniards, all of whom speak fervently of their Country, while struggling to protect its interests;... unfortunately, amidst the contradictory din of rival parties and such a confusing array of widely differing opinions, it is impossible to tell which is right, and it is even more impossible to find a remedy for ills of this magnitude."

In its despair, the country turned towards the Republic, which had, hitherto, been defended, as an institution, by a few dreamers. As always happened when the country felt insecure, it automatically sought regional solutions. Now that the throne of Spain was vacant, the Carlist War, which had begun again in the north, might have been expected to meet with a more positive response. If it failed to do so, it was because of the Carlists' insistence on religion as the compulsory basis of Spanish life, which prevented the rest of the country from accepting it; while, at the same time, the opposite extreme, as

Romantic Spain became fashionable in Europe. Merimée told the world the tragic story of Carmen; *and artists showed their fascination with Spanish folk-dancing by seeking to reproduce it.*

exemplified by the Cantón of Cartagena, which went so far left as to allow divorce, was equally unacceptable to the bulk of the country. Spain was thoroughly tired of fighting. Though it lagged seriously behind Europe in this respect, Spain now had a middle class which had been created by the Industrial Revolution. The industry of the Basque country and Catalonia was gradually becoming organized; the first railroad, from Barcelona to Mataró, was built in 1848 and was soon followed by others; the *Asociación Internacional de Trabajadores* (Internation Association of Workers) was founded in 1869. The active forces in Spanish society were coming to resemble, more and more, their European counterparts.

After the collapse of the Republic—with its four presidents in less than two years—there was a lull, during which Serrano assumed power. The search for a solution was now concentrated increasingly on the person of a prince who had ties of blood with Spanish royalty, but who, nonetheless, on account of his youth, had not been tainted by their most recent scandals. His name was Alfonso, and he was the son of Isabel II. A clever and intelligent adviser, Cánovas del Castillo, had him sign the Sandhurst Manifesto, which contained a program which could not fail to win the support of the millions of Spaniards who had seen enough of political extremism.

Its concluding words were: "Whatever happens, I shall not fail to be a good Spaniard, nor, like all my forefathers, a good Catholic, nor, as a man of this century, truly liberal."

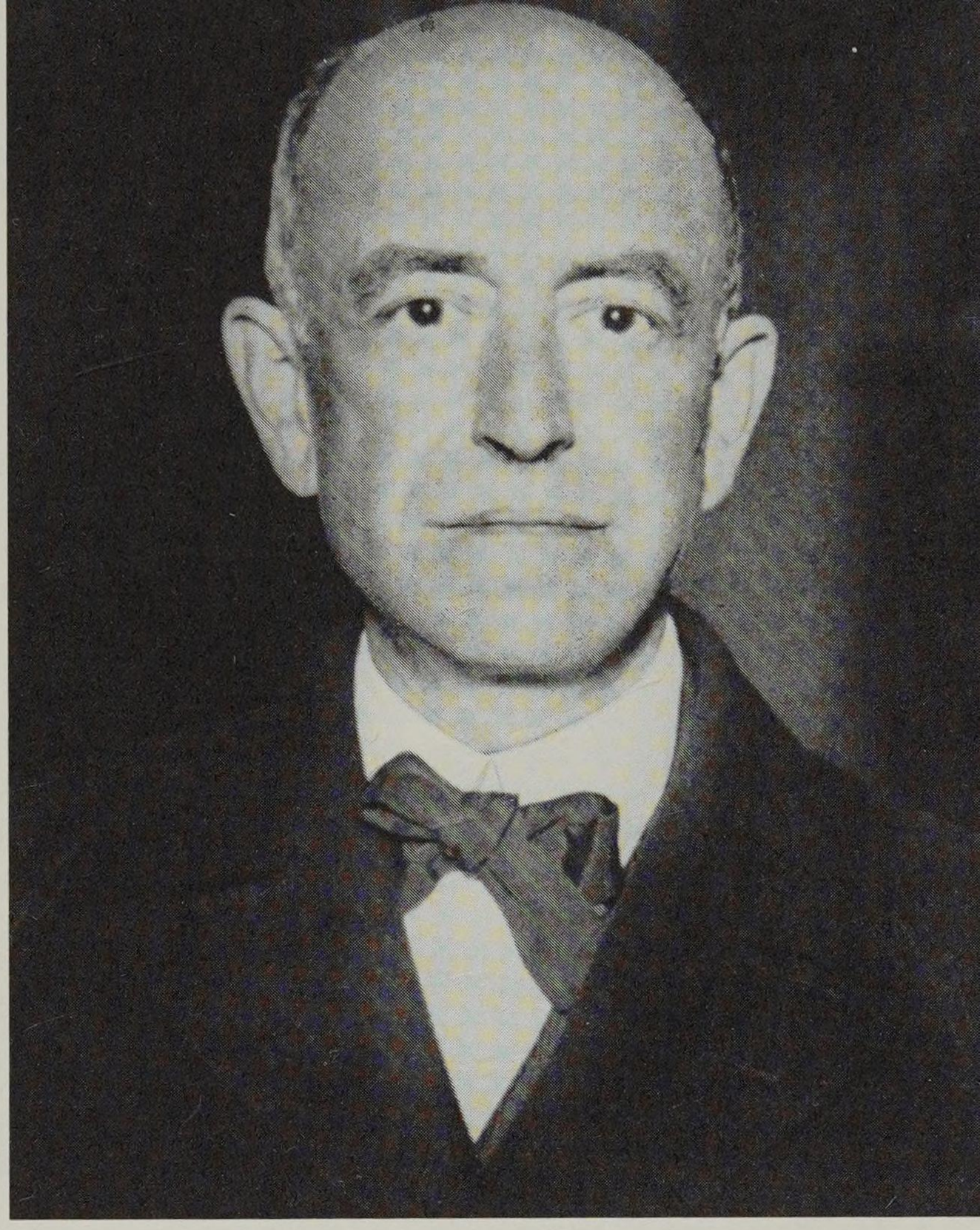
Language such as this was seen as a conciliatory handshake between the two rival Spains. Even though it was another general, Martínez Campos,

Below: A liberal king, Amadeus of Savoy, strove in vain to reconcile the opposing groups in Spain. This engraving shows an attempt on his life. Opposite page, left: Enrique Granados, a distinguished musician who met an untimely death when the ship he was travelling in was torpedoed by the Germans in the First World War. Right: Manuel de Falla, who raised Spanish music to the classical level. He died in exile, his sensitive heart broken by the Spanish Civil War.

who brought matters to a head with his uprising at Sagunto, the whole country breathed a sigh of relief when Alfonso was proclaimed king, especially as he had won the hearts of the people by marrying his cousin Mercedes, in an authentic love-match, while the popular acclaim was all the greater when it was learnt that his mother, Isabel II, disapproved of the union.

As soon as he had sworn allegiance to the Constitution, in 1875, Spain moved away from the divisions and turmoil of the past into an era of domestic peace. The generals returned to their barracks, or went off to put down insurrections in Cuba and the Philippines, both of which were demanding independence. After a personal intervention by Alfonso on the battlefield, the last of the Carlist Wars came to an end. The political parties assembled around their respective standard-bearers, the conservatives with Cánovas, and the liberals with Sagasta, and then proceeded to engage in a British-style, gentlemanly debate, while at the same time each sought, behind the scenes, to outwit the other with astute political tactics, in order to determine who should run the country. Even the premature death of Alfonso XII, and the presence of another foreign Regent at the pinnacle of the country's political life, failed to poison the political atmosphere. Spain moved gently forward, in keeping with the pace of its tranquil public life . . . at least until 1898.

The number eight has a fateful significance for Spanish history. The Invincible Armada was defeated in 1588. 1648 was the year of the Treaty of Westphalia, which firmly planted a gravestone on Spanish supremacy in Europe; 1808 was the year in which French dominion began . . . But the most important date of all was 1898. The Spanish fleet was defeated by the United States in two places in that year: Cavite (Philippines), and Santiago de Cuba. These two events brought to an end Spain's international power; the sun had now set on its vast dominions and all that remained were a few enclaves on the



coast of North Africa.

Three important factors led to the two defeats mentioned above. First, the natural desire for independence of certain countries. Secondly, the political incompetence of the Spanish State, which kept on repeating, in response to the demands of the indigenous population, words which, in the circumstances, must have sounded more like pure rhetoric than a logical position. When it *did* agree to concessions, it did so grudgingly and late, granting a measure of self-government when the exasperated local population was clamoring for full independence. Thirdly, the United States, with its expansionist policies, sought to acquire the Philipines as an important base in the Pacific, and regarded the Caribbean islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico as falling naturally within its sphere of influence.

The naval battles in question were so one-sided as to be farcical: the United States warships had such overwhelmingly superior artillery that the Spanish vessels were hardly ever able to get within range of them. All the reports sent back to Madrid by the Spanish naval authorities met with grandiloquent replies which emphasized the greatness and the destiny of Spain. The press appealed to the patriotism of its readers more than anything else, while a great chorus of prose and verse loudly proclaimed that the moral fortitude of Spain was far stronger than the thick armor plate and long-range guns of the United States Navy.

This exalted patriotic response to the harsh reality of the Treaty of Paris, which was signed in December 1898, had a traumatic effect on Spanish society. Under the leadership of Ganivet, Unamuno, and, later on, Ortega y Gasset, Baroja and Azorín, a self-critical movement began to probe deep into the causes of the defeat, and concluded that the country needed to follow a new course. Ganivet's observation "we ought to put a double lock on the tomb of El Cid," meaning that Spain should abandon dreams of ancient grandeur and come to grips with the modern world, was to be the basic idea of this movement, known as the "Generation of '98." While its members agreed on their objectives, they sometimes differed as to the means. Besides a splendid literary output, the movement also had great political significance, as a serious contribution to the quest for a better future for Spain.

The Governments that have come to power since then have all tried to put Spain on a comparable footing with Europe, as, curiously enough, both Conservatives and Liberals agree on the need for this. The Accidents at Work Act (1900), the right to strike (1909), the weekly minimum wage in the textile industry (1913) and the recognition of the trade unions by State enterprises (1916) were measures that were sometimes promulgated by right-wing politicians such as Maura and Dato and at other times by Liberals like Canalejas and Romanones. The only area in which Liberal politicians were much more advanced was that of the Church.

Below, left: attempt on the king's life as he returned from a military ceremony. An Anarchist called Sancho Alegre was the perpetrator of the attack. Below, center: Alfonso XIII shortly after his marriage to the beautiful Victoria de Battenburg.

This trend was reflected at the grass-roots level. As if bent on making up for lost time, the working masses obtained great gains in the early years of the 20th century, especially the Socialist Party. Led by an honest and dedicated man, Pablo Iglesias, the Party was to see its membership increase, and in 1917 it called the first general strike ever to be held in Spain, which was broken by the Army.

The Army had changed a great deal in the last few years. In the 19th century, most military men were Liberals, largely because their enemies on the battlefield were the Carlists with their absolutist tendencies. The Cuban war and their subsequent defeat made them vulnerable to criticism, however, which often originated in Catalonia, a region whose economic power had developed during the 19th century and sought an outlet in a cultural Renaissance. This trend ranged from the regionalism of Prat de la Riba to the separatism of certain groups such as the newspaper "Cu-Cut," whose taunts were to make the Army anti-Catalan.

The Army also resented the attacks made upon them by the Left, and particularly the Socialist Party which attacked in Congress their campaign against the rebel Moors of Morocco and criticized their methods as it had criticized those of Weyler in Cuba. By 1920, despite some internal problems such as that of the Defence Councils (Juntas de Defensa), the Army was anti-Catalan and anti-Socialist. It therefore unhesitatingly supported General Miguel Primo de Rivera when, like his 19th century ancestors, he presented an ultimatum and forced

Below, right: King Alfonso XIII in Hussar's uniform. The king always liked military regalia and the military atmosphere.

King Alfonso XIII to acknowledge him as supreme head of the Dictadura or Dictatorship.

Anarchism

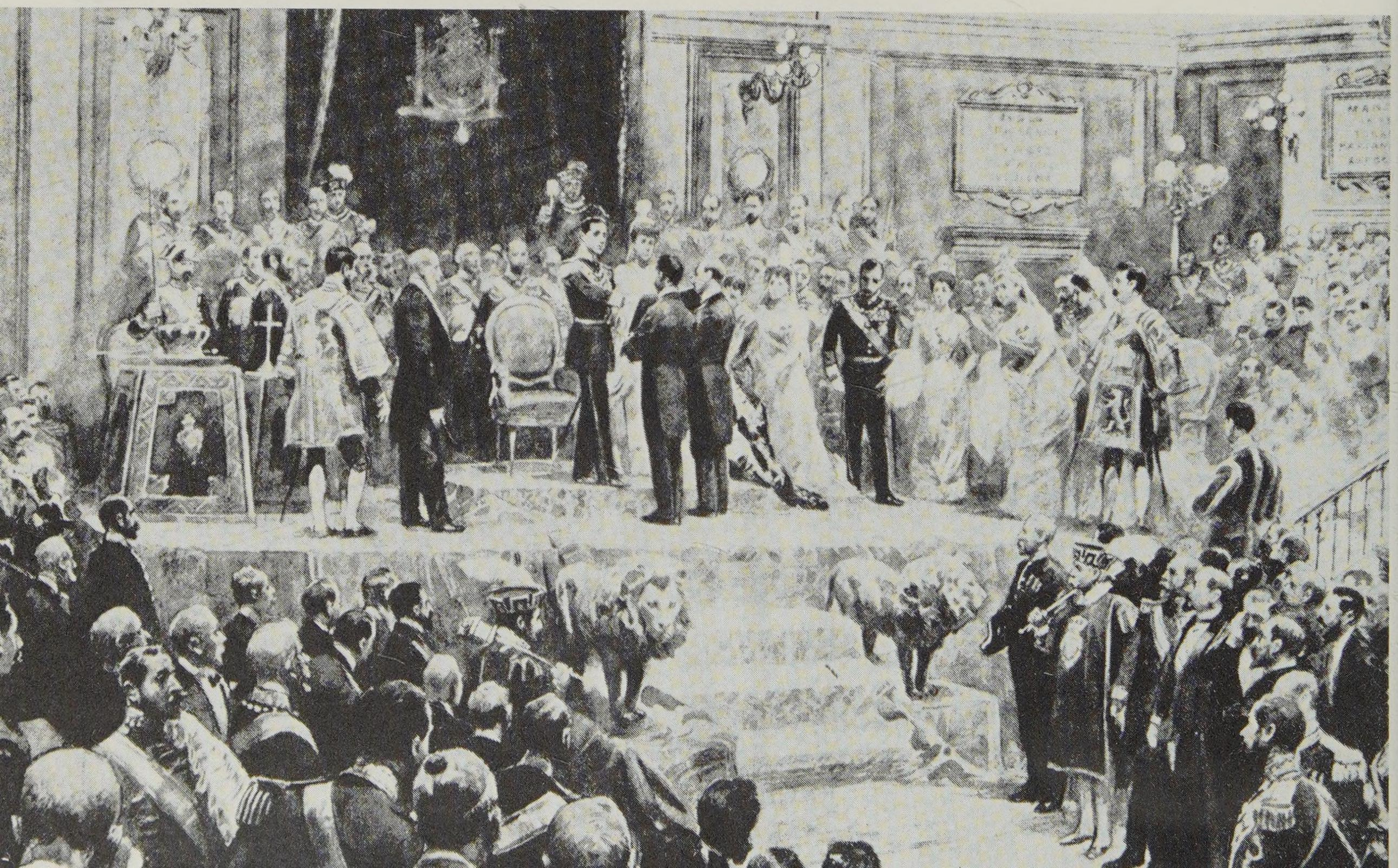
The claims of the Spanish workers were those of all European workers at the time. What distinguished Spain, however, were the anarchists, who were incomparably stronger there, where they were the political version of the guerrilla fighter, the symbol of the Spaniard who is always ready to rebel against the Government and chafes against Party discipline as well. His ideal is direct action, the killing of a tyrant without fear of the consequences. Between 1897 and 1923 the anarchist movement in Spain was responsible for the deaths of three Heads of State—Cánovas, Canalejas and Dato—as well as for several unsuccessful attempts to kill the King of Spain in Paris and Madrid, the most dramatic being the bomb thrown by Morral in the Calle Mayor, Madrid, on the day of the King's wedding to Princess Victoria Eugenia.

The anarchists declared war on the Church, the Army and society. They attacked the Church by burning the churches of Barcelona in the so-called 'Tragic Week' of 1909, and again at the beginning of the Civil War in 1936, while their hate of the bourgeoisie was expressed in the bombs thrown into the orchestra stalls of the Liceo Theatre in Barcelona and at a Corpus Christi procession there.

Their union was known as the Single Labour Union (Sindicato Unico) and, pistol in hand, they persecuted

Top: The terrible attack on the king's life in the Calle Mayor, Madrid, on his wedding day, was the work of an Anarchist, named Morral. Bottom: King Alfonso swears to uphold the Spanish Constitution.

businessmen and entrepreneurs whom they regarded as the enemies of the people. The latter organized the Free Union (Sindicato Libre) against them, and for years the sight of these bands attacking one another was a common occurrence in Spanish towns, especially Barcelona. Their acts provoked strong counter-measures by the Government, which was then denounced by all freedom-lovers. The



Right: Alfonso XIII in 1914. With an English wife and an Austrian mother, caught between right-wing Germanophiles and left-wing Francophiles, he quickly realized the need for Spanish neutrality. Below: Alfonso XIII in Germany.

repression after the Tragic Week, for instance, led to the execution of Francisco Ferrer, who was a known anarchist but whose responsibility for the acts of violence was never definitely proved. The ensuing reaction abroad led to the fall of Antonio Maura, an eminent figure in the Conservative Party, and persuaded the Conservatives to accept a Dictatorship as an emergency measure.

11 From Dictatorship to Republic

The Dictatorship and the Republic (1923–1936)

Like most dictatorships, this one maintained public order at the expense of freedom. The Moroccan war was brought to an end with the help of France, an ambitious public works plan was set in motion and assassinations in the streets were no longer a daily occurrence.

In exchange, the Spanish people had a system which regarded censorship of the written and spoken word as absolutely normal. While the disappearance of the politicians who had discredited themselves by their doubts and vacillations caused little grief, the severe measures taken against any attempt to deviate from the norm were resented. From the beginning, Primo de Rivera was opposed by the intellectuals and the most famous of these, Miguel de Unamuno, was exiled together with the most popular Spanish writer, Blasco Ibáñez. The Dictator was also opposed by the Catalans because of his restrictive decrees on the use of their language and regional insignia. He could have remained in power for longer, however, had it not been for the world depression of 1929 which also affected Spain, making a mockery of the dictum that order was equivalent to economic stability, and for his great mistake in clashing with the Artillery over trivial matters, thus antagonizing his strongest supporters—the Army. In 1930, Alfonso XIII yielded to the pressure brought to bear by the Dictator's opponents and accepted his resignation.

It has often been argued whether the dictatorship was a barrier which held back the advent of the Republic for more than six years or whether its existence precipitated it. The second

Left: These were hard times for Spain, yet literature flourished. Writers used to meet in the coffee-houses. Gómez de la Serna presided over the coterie called Pombo, *which is shown in this painting by Solana entitled "La tertulia de Pombo". Right: Politics even found its way into the cemeteries, which were not spared their quota of caustic comment.*

hypothesis is more plausible since at the end of the 1920s, Republicanism had gained ground among monarchists like Sánchez Guerra who did not feel they owed allegiance to a king who disregarded the Constitution he had sworn to uphold. After fruitless attempts by Berenguer to turn the clock back to the years before 1923, the monarchy found itself opposed by all the more important groups in the country. The most distinguished intellectuals—Marañón, Ortega y Gasset and Pérez de Ayala—formed the Association in the Service of the Republic (Agrupación al servicio de la República), and were followed by the most outstanding Spanish writers and University professors from Bergamín to Américo Castro and from Antonio Machado to García Lorca. All these groups, and especially the Socialist Party, exercised grass-roots pressure, and the climate became so tense that key gains by the Left in municipal elections, involving no more than changes in the local administration of certain towns, led to the King's departure from Spain and the proclamation of the Republic.

The Second Republic had to con-

Top left: With Primo de Rivera, Spain was given a military government which later stepped down in favor of civilian rule; but even then, civil rights were still denied. Bottom left: Political and social unrest led to the assumption of power by the dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera. Below: Street clashes between rival factions occurred often during the Republic; corpses in the gutter were now becoming a common sight.

tend from the start with much the same dangers as the First. On the one hand, the far Right, oblivious of the fact that times had changed, clung stubbornly to its privileges. On the other hand, the far Left believed that the hour for Social Revolution had struck. The Act passed on the Defence of the Republic was therefore as much against the Right wing, nostalgic for past glories, as against militant anarchism which accused the new régime of betraying it from the outset. Their political movement was known as the Iberian Anarchist Federation (the Federación Anarquista Ibérica, FAI) and their labour union was the National Labour Confederation (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, CNT) which, in 1936, had more than a million and a half members, outstripping the General Union of Workers (Unión General de Trabajadores), which was the labour union of the Socialist Party.

This could have saved the youthful Republic. With its organization, its able politicians and mass following of workers, it could have been the corner-stone for a Left-wing Republic without extremist ideas. But, as a result of the pressure exercised by a small but very active Communist Party, the Left wing, represented by Largo Caballero wrested the leadership from Besteiro on the Right wing of the Party, and Indalecio Prieto in the Centre. The alliance formed with the Communists made it impossible to enter into one with the Republican middle classes and led to the defeat of Manuel Azaña, the leading light among the Republican politicians.

It is no paradox to say that Manuel Azaña did as much to shore up the Republic as to destroy it. He brought about a military reform based on log-

Federico García Lorca, who was probably the most popular poet among the new literary figures of the '20s, was murdered in Granada in the opening days of the Spanish Civil War. His death cost Franco a good deal of support.

ical principles—there were 623 generals for an Army of 100,000 men—but he carried it out in such a way as to wound the susceptibilities of those affected. He secured the expulsion of the Jesuits, on the pretext used by Charles III of the fourth vow of obedience to a foreign power (the Pope), thus drawing upon himself the odium of the Church. His dictum "Spain has ceased to be Catholic" which was repeated out of context by his enemies aroused the animosity of the whole Spanish Right wing, the Catholic Republicans, and the followers of Miguel Maura (the son of Antonio), who felt morally alien to the régime.

The more intelligent members of the Right wing tried to reconcile Spanish Catholic traditions with contemporary social needs by founding a Christian Democratic party known as CEDA *(Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas),* led by another politician and intellectual—José Maria Gil-Robles—who became famous during the Republic. His efforts ended in failure, like those of Azaña. While the latter was attacked by his allies on the Left for being slow to reform, Gil-Robles was vilified by the members of the far Right for his timid references to the needs of the people.

There was obviously growing enmity between the two sides in Spain, which glared distrustfully at each other across a steadim widening ideological gulf. For two years, 1931–1933, an endeavor was made by the Left wing to reform the agrarian structure, the Army and lay education. In the next two years, 1933–1936, the Right wing reversed everything that had been done without making a serious attempt to lay new foundations. As a result, there were outbreaks of violence in the streets again. The Spanish Falange and JONS party *(Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional-Sindicalista)* was created under the leadership of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the son of Miguel, on the lines of the Fascist movements in Italy and Germany in an attempt to combine tradition and revolution with the National-Syndicalist ideal. He was fiercely opposed by the Left while the Right wing stood aloof, the result being that he was unable to obtain even the position of Deputy in the elections of February 1936 in which the Popular Front was victorious. The electoral defeat of Gil Robles, the only man capable of containing the

Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera, the Dictator's son, founded his Falange Espanola de la JONS, *in the style of Italian Fascism and German Nazism.*

extreme Right, and the disappearance of Manuel Azaña from the Government upon his appointment as President of the Republic thus removed the only two moderating influences that existed on the political scene. One political murder followed another, the victim being one day a Socialist and the next a Falangist, while the unions squabbled among themselves for the support of the working masses.

The Right wing began to rally to the Army which, after consultations with the principal commanding officers, decided to seize power. On 18 July 1936 a state of war was declared in a number of Spanish towns—the Civil War had begun.

12 The Civil War

The fratricidal war, 1936–1939

The Civil War did not bring two parties face to face but two groups of parties. Temporarily sinking its differences in the face of a common danger, Conservative Spain, from the Christian Democrats of the CEDA to the Falangists, Monarchists and Traditionalists (former Carlists) of Navarre, allied itself with the Army, which had risen in revolt in a number of provinces. The coalition on the other side comprised the left of center Republican followers of Azaña, Anarchists, Socialists, Communists and the Catalan and Basque regionalists. The Church was severly persecuted throughout what was to be called the Republican zone except in the Basque country, but was protected and accorded every honor in the Nationalist zone.

After the first confusion, two zones cutting across the length and breadth of the country were demarcated. The Nationalist zone comprised the greater part of rural Spain with Andalucia, the two Castiles and Galicia, while the Republican zone contained the major towns of Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Bilbao and industrial districts such as those in Catalonia and the Basque provinces. It also possessed the foreign exchange reserves of the Bank of Spain which were in Madrid. With few exceptions, and for all practical purposes the population groups of the two Spains corresponded closely to the political trends that had emerged in the preceding ten years, the rural population leaning to the Conservative side while the industrial population was more progressive.

Although both zones were strongly partisan, there was a unifying element in the so-called Nationalist zone. This was the Army, whose members performed military functions and in many cases civilian functions as well, such as the government of a province or press censorship. Throughout the entire war, the military were in charge of political affairs and took the political decisions although the Spanish Falange and JONS party were chosen as the

Left: The President of the Generalitat of Catalonia holding a doll, "El mes petit de tots" (the smallest of all)—a symbol of Catalan resistance to Franco during the Civil War. Below: In keeping with the anticlericalism which had been typical of the Spanish left ever since the 19th century (the first killings of priests took place in 1835), the outbreak of civil war was soon followed by the sacking of churches and the desecration of religious images.

formal symbol of the new régime. It is surprising that a party with so few members, with not even one Deputy in Congress, should have come to represent in 1936, with its emblem of the yoke and arrows, its watchword of 'Fatherland, bread and justice,' its literature, and its anthem 'Facing the sun' ('Cara al sol'), that half of Spain that was later to win the war. The aim may have been to use the party to give the Nationalist Movement a modern image, especially for young people who could not readily identify with the old concepts of Tradition inherited from the Carlist wars, which, except in the mountains of Navarre, no longer had any power to stir the blood and bring together both young and old. So when Franco wished to create a single force to be known as the Spanish Falange of the Traditionalists and JONS, the Blue-shirt volunteers had to wear the red beret, the Carlist headgear during the nineteenth century wars.

The trend of events was similar in the Republican zone. There, too, a minority party, the Communists, gained ground as a result of its organization and discipline in the internecine struggles, which were much fiercer there than in the Nationalist zone owing to the absence of the Army as arbiter. But the Party's influence was more internal than external. The Falangist flags waved openly in the wind and their slogans were chanted aloud, while the Communists let it be understood that they were fighting for a Democratic Republic and not for the Revolution and kept their flags strictly hidden. Throughout nearly three years of war, they gradually infiltrated the Administration and the Army. Their influence was resented even by people like Largo Caballero, who had signed the Socialist-Communist alliance and who was later to be ousted, and by the moderate Prieto during the term in office of the pro-Communist Dr. Negrín. Besteiro, their last enemy on the Left, won a Pyrrhic victory when he supported Casado and brought the war to an end a few months earlier than expected in Madrid (March 1939).

The fiercest struggle waged by the

Below: With the advent of the Republic, Catalonia recovered certain regional liberties which it had lost early in the 18th century. The autonomous government of the Generalitat *occupied the premises which had formerly been used by the* Diputación de Barcelona.

Communist Party was fought against the anarchists who, at the outbreak of war, at last saw the fulfilment of their long-cherished dreams. Aragón and Valencia set up the system which advocated the ideas of the CNT (Confederación Nacional del Trabajo) and FAI (Federación Anarquista Ibérica), especially in Catalonia. As little government as possible—at the municipal level only—the minimum commercial system as commerce was the prime corrupter of man, burning of the churches with, in many cases, assassination of the priests, and the collectivization of factories which were to be managed by the workers through committees set up by them. Lastly, the minimum amount of discipline in the Army which was to resemble a loosely organized guerilla-force in the old Spanish style rather than modern troops, incorporated into an intricate command structure.

In their efforts to combine revolution and war, the anarchists were supported by the Workers' Party for

Right: A Spanish centuria *named in honor of the venerated Bulgarian Dimitroff. Below: During the Civil War, the Generalitat assumed new powers, and even issued currency, in order to remedy the chronic shortages due to the war.*

Marxist Unification *(Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista)*, which stood to the left of official Communism and was regarded as a Trotskyist faction by it. The rearguard struggle between the two groups ended in May 1937, when the anarchists and POUM in Barcelona revolted as a result of Communist pressure; consequently, the Anarchists were destroyed as a political force and the POUM dissolved, with the disappearance of its chief, Andrés Nin. These events coincided with the great trial of the Russian Trotskyists in Moscow that year.

The obliteration of these elements with their diverse political purposes helped to unify the Republican rearguard and enabled them to launch the only important attacks they ever mounted on their own initiative—Brunete in July 1937, Teruel in December, and the crossing of the Ebro in the summer of 1938. At the same time, there was an increased flow of aid from Russia, which sympathized with the pro-Soviet Government, but it was too late to change the course of the war.

External aid

From the beginning, the adversaries in the Civil War sought help abroad. Franco-British diplomacy in particular and the Church tried to halt

the flood of arms to the Spanish frontier by setting up a Non-Intervention Committee on which a number of known interventionists were active. Italy sent supplies and an expeditionary force to Nationalist Spain, and Germany sent technicians and planes—the Condor legion. The support of Salazar in Portugal was especially useful in conveniently securing the long frontier and Portuguese volunteers also came to fight on the Nationalist side.

The first consignments to arrive in the Republican zone were planes sent from France by the Communist Minister Cot, while the Soviet Union then and throughout the war sent arms, munitions and technicians in exchange for the gold reserves of the Bank of Spain which were sent to Moscow as surety. In human terms, the most important assistance came from the International Brigades which were

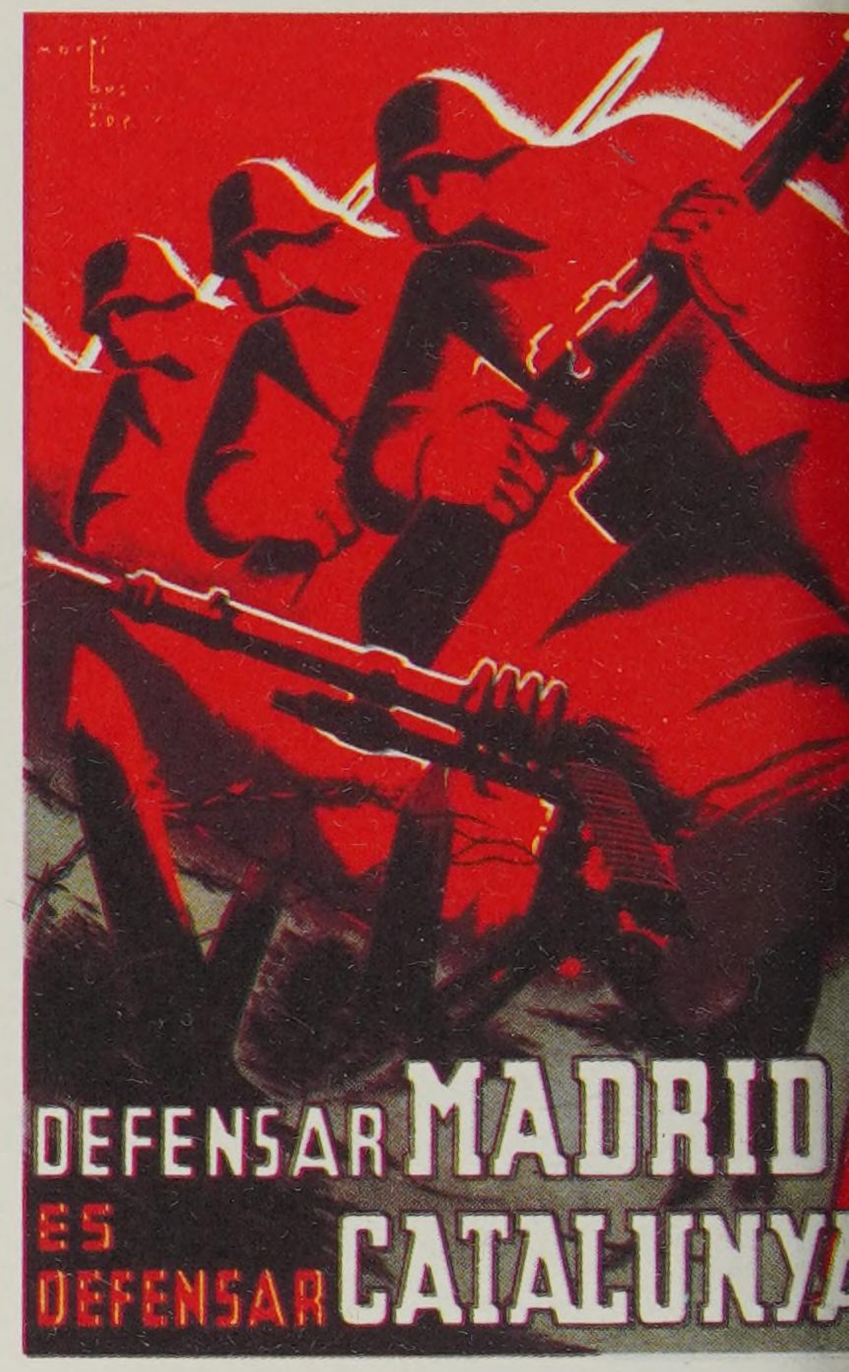
Besides the murder of García Lorca, the bombing of Guernica was the action which counted most heavily against Franco throughout the world, particularly when the genius of Picasso produced this painting, inspired by the incident. It has probably been reproduced and commented on more than any other such work since the paintings of Goya.

manned by people of all sorts, nationalities and political persuasions; however, all positions of higher command were held by Communists (e.g., the Frenchman Marty). The official withdrawal of all the foreign volunteers, from whatever country then came, took place in 1938.

General Franco. Various circumstances such as the assassination of the leader of the Right-wing opposition, Calvo Sotelo, the death of General Sanjurjo, the appointed head of the Movement, in an air accident, the shooting of the Falange leader by the Republicans at Alicante, helped to eliminate other candidates and to leave General Franco, who had enjoyed a brilliant military career in Morocco, as the sole leader of Nationalist Spain. His command during the war adopted the external symbols of the Falange but this party was never to be in the majority in the succession of Govern-

Below: Combattants in the Spanish Civil War with their thoughts more on the photographer than on the enemy.

Below: Propaganda was important in both zones, but particularly on the Republican side – in both quality and quantity. This poster warns Catalans of their duty to defend the capital against Franco, forgetting regional sentiments.



ments over which he presided, since its influence was offset by that of the Monarchists and Traditionalists. In April 1937, Franco consolidated his authority by proclaiming himself leader of the unified Spanish Falange of the Traditionalists and the JONS, thereby gathering into his hands the military and political powers of the new régime, for what was to be a long period of sule.

The war from the military standpoint

In July 1936 the objective of the Nationalist troops was to unify the zones which were separated from one another. They did this by taking Badajoz and establishing contact with the forces in the north led by Mola and

Below: A case of resistance which became a symbol for the right-wing movements of the entire world: the Alcazar of Toledo, which withstood the fire of the Republican forces without surrendering.

those in the south under the command of Franco. By occupying Irún and closing the French frontier, they also prevented food supplies from entering the Basque provinces. Troops from Morocco arrived rapidly after making a brief diversion in order to free the Alcázar of Toledo at the gates of Madrid, but the city of Madrid itself, although abandoned by the Republican Government which moved to Valencia, managed to hold out with the aid of the first International Brigades until the end of the war.

The crucial year of the war was 1937. The Nationalist troops advanced to Malaga and also attacked in the north. There, the occupation of Bilbao, Santander and Asturias, which was accomplished despite futile attempts to mount diversionary attacks in Brunete and Belchite, gave the Nationalist side the important industrial areas of Bilbao and the Asturian coal mines, apart from relieving them of the reed to fight on a whole front. Politically speaking, the disappearance of the Government of Euskadi, the only Republican zone which had preserved a more less bourgeois image, and where the Church was treated with respect, was important for Nationalist war propaganda.

The year 1938 began with the Republican troops occupying Teruel, the capital city of the province of Ternel in eastern Spain—the only important town wich they were to take during the war—but the Nationalist counterattack carried them down to the Mediterranean, splitting Republican Spain into two parts. Late in July, the Republican troops crossed the Ebro in an offensive which took the Nationalists by surprise but shortly afterwards Franco's troops again advanced and, by the end of the year, had penetrated deep into Catalan territory.

In 1939 Barcelona was to fall into Franco's hands on 26 January followed by the rest of Catalonia a few days later. The only part to remain under the Republicans was the central-eastern zone to which the Government moved, but by March a Defence Council headed by Colonel Casado, the commander of the Army of the Center in Madrid, and with the influential presence of the moderate Socialist Besteiro, rose up against Negrín in order to sue for peace. On February 23, Colonel Casado had risked the displeasure of the other three army commanders in his area by banning the publication of the Commun-

Below: A refugee camp in France, 1936; a scene typical of all wars.

ist paper *Mundo Obrero* because, when the situation was clearly hopeless, it called for continued resistance. With the support of Anarchists and Republicans it overcame the resistance of the Communists who, like Negrín, wanted to continue the fight. Franco entered Madrid and the war ended on 1 April.

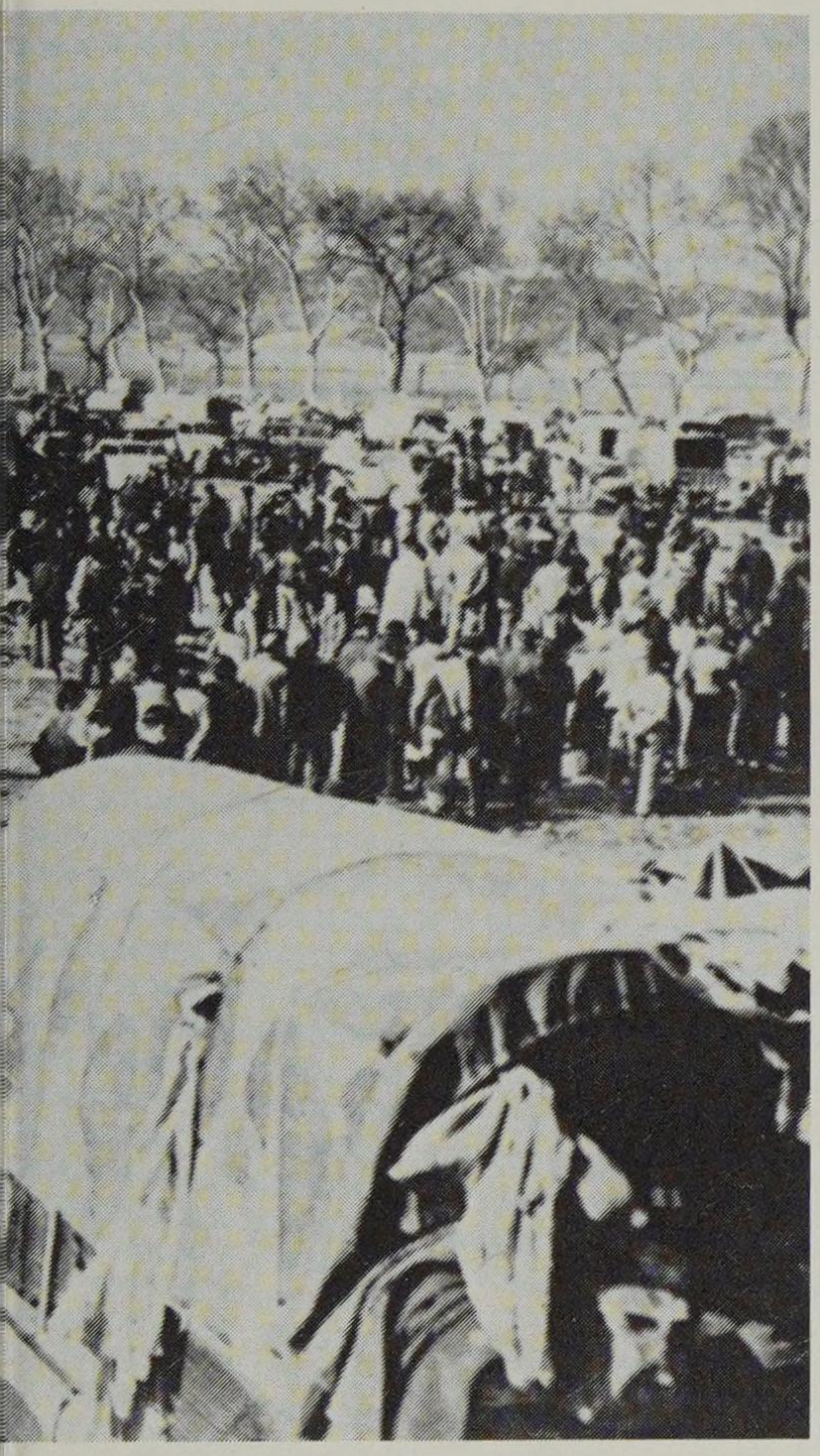
The war in the rear. In the Republican zone, the Church was attacked from the very beginning. Many of its buildings were burned or sacked and numerous priests and members of religious orders were killed or imprisoned. As a result, forty-six Spanish bishops signed a "Public Letter from the Spanish Episcopate" expressing their full agreement with the actions of Nationalist Spain and condemning the Republic (1 July 1937).

Anyone who, because of his behavior in the past, was regarded as suspect by the revolutionary forces —such as military men, rentiers and people with conservative associations in general—were also persecuted and locked up either in the people's gaols organized by the Chekist political groups or in the ordinary gaols of the country. There were also executions by special groups, the so-called "walks," a term borrowed from American gangsterdom, or shooting by firing squad after a trial in the People's Courts of the Republic.

In the Nationalist Zone, anyone directly connected with a Left-wing organization such as a trade union or party or who had displayed hostility towards the Church was persecuted. A few people fell victim to isolated groups, but in general the death sentences were pronounced by the War Councils which were highly active both during and after the war. Among those who died in the early days was the famous poet and playwright Federico García Lorca, whose murder caused an international scandal and inspired anti-Franco propaganda throughout the world for many years afterwards.

It is difficult to form an exact idea of the numbers of people who were killed for their political ideas on the two sides, but there were undoubtedly many of them, and together with those who fell in combat the total number of dead is estimated at nearly 750,000.

Below: Franco, chief of the "national" state, with his daughter Carmen during the Civil War.



13 Spain during the Time of Franco. Prospects

The post-war period or the era of Franco

The Spanish Civil War ended on 1 April 1939. Only five months later the Second World War was to begin, and Spain had to opt for one side or the other. In the First World War—1914–1918—when the country had been more obsessed with its own problems than those of the rest of the world, the Right wing had been pro-German and the Left wing pro-Ally, but, despite verbal battles, most of the Spaniards found it both logical and easier to stay neutral.

In 1939, however, the situation was very different. The Axis Powers—Germany and Italy—had protected the Nationalists, while France, England and the United States had sympathized more or less openly with the Republicans. The first official reaction was a proclamation of neutrality, but from the very beginning the press, following clear and precise instructions from the general department of propaganda, emphasized the ideological resemblances that united Franco's Spain to Germany and Italy, and the political and social differences that separated it from France and England. Spain's pro-Axis sympathies became stronger as the German troops won their first victories, and when France was over-run by the Panzer divisions with the support of the Stukas, Spain adopted the legal formula of non-belligerence. Italy had adopted the same formula before entering the war, i.e., a position of open affinity for one side in the struggle without the dispatch of troops to the front. Hitler's submarines were, however, allowed to refuel in discreet Spanish ports and Germany received a steady supply of the valuable mineral tungsten.

In 1940 and 1941 Spain was being drawn closer and closer into the conflict. Documents found in the German Chancellery after the war show that Serrano Suñer was trying to force the Caudillo to declare war although the Army high command was opposed to it. It was evident, however, from Franco's meeting with Hitler at Hendaye, where the atmosphere was one of great cordiality but nothing concrete was decided, that Franco still harbored doubts. The entry of Spain into the war would have had two important aspects, the first being material. Spain was exhausted, and both technically and agriculturally was in such a bad state that it had to import all its grain and oil, for which it relied on the goodwill of the Allied navies in the Atlantic. To come into the war, Spain needed a promise from Germany—which did not have too much of either product itself—to send supplies immediately and to continue to do so throughout the war. In exchange for his support, Franco also asked for the French possessions in North Africa, particularly French Morocco, Tunisia and part of Algeria. But Hitler, although he had conquered France, still looked upon it as an integral part of the new Europe he dreamed of and had no wish to strip it of any of its territories, apart from the fact that Franco's ambitions happened to coincide with those of Mussolini who was eager to extend his empire to the Mediterranean.

As hopes of direct intervention dwindled, Hitler asked Franco for permission to pass through Spain, so that the German troops could take Gibraltar and close the Mediterranean to the Allied forces. His doubts fortified by the stubborn English resistance which he had not believed in to begin with, Franco made it his condition for yielding the right of passage that Rommel should first take Suez, the other door to the Mediterranean. When Rommel was unable to do so, the plans to cross Spain had to be abandoned.

Germany's attack on Russia in June 1941 led Spain to give it the symbolic satisfaction of seeing a Spanish volunteer division, usually known as the Blue Division, sent to fight in Russia.

Franco is seen here among the vast throng which attended the funeral of José Antonio Primo de Rivera, the young Falange chief who was shot by the Republicans in Alicante.

This act was designed to give Germany a display of belligerent solidarity, while at the same time not arousing the anger of the Allies, who would certainly have responded quickly to a declaration of war on the part of Spain. In the event, then merely hampered the country's oil supplies. The living conditions of the Spaniards at that time, especially the lower classes, were very bad indeed.

In September 1942, with the fierce Russian resistance and American aid for the Allies, a German victory became more remote. Franco dismissed his pro-German minister and brother-in-law, Serrano Suñer, in favor of the Count de Jordana who was more acceptable to the Allies. The press, with a few timid exceptions, continued to support Germany and its new order enthusiastically, but other cards were played at the higher levels of Government, particularly when the American landing in North Africa in November 1942 left Spain squarely between Germany on the Pyrenees and an Allied Power to the south. A year later, in October 1943, the Spanish Government changed its official position to one of neutrality again.

In May 1944, Franco made a speech in which he warned that the

struggle against Soviet Russia in which Spain felt itself to be involved, was very different from the war "in the west between civilized nations" in which Spain refused to take sides. In an attempt to change the country's image for those who were close to victory, new legislation was also enacted reopening the Cortés and establishing the basic rights of the Spanish people, the 'Fuero de los Epañoles'.

The year 1945 came. The Allies were anxious to make Franco pay for the sympathies he had manifested during the war, and England, the United States and the Soviet Union made a statement at Potsdam denying Spain access to the new United Nations Organization. This diplomatic offensive was intensified in December 1946, when it was decided at United Nations Headquarters that the ambassadors of all the countries represented in Madrid should be withdrawn (by 34 votes in favor, 6 against and 14 abstentions).

Spain experienced its greatest political isolation at this time, aggravated by an economic blockade. That the Spanish people survived was due to the huge shipments of wheat, meat, eggs, etc. from General Perón in Argentina, and the Government, by taking advantage of the typical Spanish reaction to any hint of foreign interference, used the press to ride out the difficult years from 1946 to 1950, when it even had to face a military attack from the Spanish Republican refugees in France known as the "maquis," and the closure of the frontier by France. Meanwhile Spain, which had no official régime, declared itself to be a kingdom without a monarch, who was to be chosen in future when Franco died or retired. The Governments of the time were essentially moderate in their approach, and ministers belonging to the Catholic Action (Acción Católica), such as Martin Artajo and Ruiz Jimenez, played an especially important part, as their relations with the Vatican led to significant support for Madrid from Catholic circles throughout the world. Fortunately for the régime at the time, the Cold War between the United States and Russia had intensified, reaching its height in the Korean war. The Truman Administration, which was strongly opposed to the Spanish régime, had to bow to military pressure and the need for bases on the Peninsula, and the treaty of 1953 between the United States and Spain marked the end of Spain's diplomatic isolation of several years' standing. The alliance with the foremost military power in the world was followed

Ceremony in Zaragoza during the Civil War. Franco's attire shows the full range of his military and political power. The red beret of the requetés *(the name originally given to levies in the Carlist wars), the blue shirt of the Falange next to the collar of his military uniform—this latter being by far the most important symbol of his authority.*

by a treaty with a great spiritual power when, in the same year, the Vatican signed a Concordat with Spain. The logical consequence of this dual recognition was to be Spain's admission to the United Nations in 1955.

Its economic situation was improving mainly because of the impressive growth of tourism which, in the space of a few years, brought in a flood of foreign exchange that enabled the State to launch a development plan to put the country's economic and industrial structures on a par with those of other European countries. The members of the Catholic Action were replaced by another group of Catholics, who were to play an important part in the development plan. They belonged to the secular and religious organization Opus Dei, whose mysterious methods of operation and recruitment of the élite rather than the masses gave it the same reputation, in the minds of the people, as the Jesuits and Masons in their day. The ministers from Opus Dei—Rodó, Lopez Bravo and Ullastres—surrounded themselves by technocrats and governed for many years until they were forced out of power by the Matesa administrative scandal.

Spain at that time was trying to come closer to Europe, especially in economic matters, and applied to join the Common Market. Aware that its entry depended on political change, the Franco régime tried to refurbish its image as much as possible. In 1967, it passed the Religious Liberty Act—until then, the Catholic faith had been the only official one and the others merely tolerated—and, a year earlier, it had passed the Press Act, eliminating prior censorship for publications for the first time since 1936, although article 2 of the Act is still a sword of Damocles with its vague allusions to the need to maintain "due respect for institutions and persons in criticizing political and administrative actions."

In July 1969 the idea that Spain was a kingdom, which had been established in 1947, crystallized in the person of Juan Carlos de Borbón y Borbón, son of the Count of Barcelona and nephew of Alfonso XIII, the last King of Spain. He was proclaimed a Prince of Spain and future King upon the death or retirement of General Franco, after swearing to comply with the fundamental laws of the Kingdom, i.e. to the principles laid down on 18 July 1936, and not the constitutional principles of his grandfather's reign.

Foreign policy under Franco

After the Civil War, there had been a climate of euphoria in official Spain based on a return to traditional ways of life and hence to the glories of the Empire. This ambition, which had seemed within reach when the Axis star was in the ascendant, was soon dispelled in the post-war years. However, the claim to Gibraltar has been sustained all these years, reflected in countless street demonstrations, protests in the United Nations and measures to 'strangle' this British stronghold, culminating in the closure of the frontier between La Línea and Algeciras and the cutting of telephone communications with the Peninsula in 1969.

In another aspect of its foreign policy, Spain, together with many other countries, suffered from the decolonization movement that swept the world. Morocco thus gained its independence in 1956, and threw in its lot with what used to be French Morocco. The Ifni territory which had been attacked in 1957 (the only attack to be launched by Spain after the Civil War) was given back to Morocco, and Equatorial Guinea became independent in 1968. In 1975, Moroccan pressure aimed at winning the Spanish Sahara at last paid off. Despite Algerian opposition, Morocco and Mauretania divided up the former Spanish territory which is economically important on account of its large phosphate deposits. All that now remains of Spain's fabulous colonial empire was the cities of Ceuta and Melilla on the north coast of Africa; these are considered to be part the national territory of Spain, as part of the provinces of Málaga and Cádiz, respectively.

Domestic policy

For years, the situation inside Spain was one of unbroken order, and a close watch was kept on any sign of non-conformity with the régime. At the beginning of the 1950s, coinciding with the tentative moves towards the rest of Europe, protests began to be made in the form of illegal strikes called by students and workers alike. In the factories, the stoppages were represented simply by failure to turn up for work, but the students held public demonstrations and fought with the police, some of them being injured and one being killed. The conflicts have continued intermittently throughout the last few years and many universities have been closed from time to time. The struggle for regionalism has also re-surfaced. In Catalonia, the demonstrations have been mainly of a linguistic and cultural nature, and have the backing of the Church in the region (the Abbot of Montserrat, Escarre, was exiled from the country), but in the Basque prov-

Below: Juan Carlos de Borbon y Borbon, named by Franco as his heir, leaving the Jefatura de Estado *with his wife, Queen Sofia. Right: The cross which stands at the end of the Valle de los Caídos (Valley of the Fallen), the colossal monument built by Franco in memory of the Civil War, largely with the labor of Republican prisoners.*

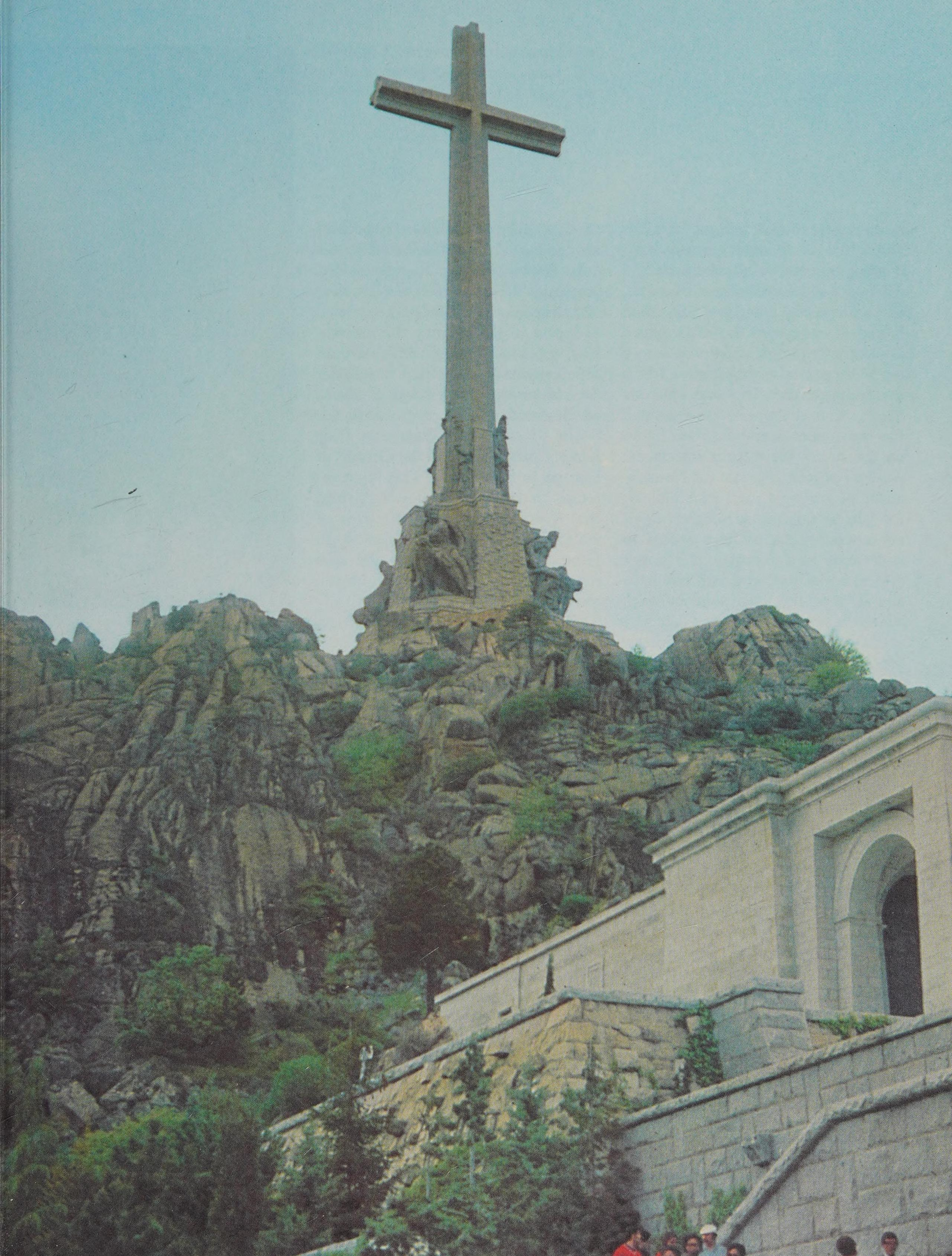
inces they became much more aggressive when the nationalist claims were combined with Marxism in the ETA (Euzkadi ta Azakatasuna), whose members pursued their ideals with the violent acts that provoked an equally violent reaction on the part of the Government. The Burgos trial in 1970 for the killing of a policeman produced much the same world reaction as that of Ferrer in 1909, with popular demonstrations in favor of the accused. The most serious ETA attack was to be against Admiral Carrero Blanco, the first President of the Government—until then the post had been combined with that of Head of State—in December 1973, followed by a bomb explosion which claimed several victims among the passers-by in the Calle Correos, Madrid, in August 1974.

Arias Navarro was designated President in place of Admiral Carrero Blanco, and is seeking the path of liberalization in an attempt to compromise which is criticized as offering very little by the Left and far too much by the Right. The product of his endeavors is the decree on political association, a tentative attempt to broaden the base of the régime so that more Spaniards have the right to make their opinions known.

The three pillars of the régime in 1939 were the Church, the Army and the Falange, apart from the Right-wing elements in Spanish opinion. Today the Falange, the single party also known as the Nationalist Movement, still has a Secretary-General with the rank of Minister but has lost much of its power and even its image. Its uniform, the blue shirt, is rarely seen in the streets, although its emblem of the yoke and arrows has been incorporated into the national coat-of-arms and its principles into the basic laws of the country.

The Church, which was a bulwark of the régime for many years, has become more critical latterly, especially since the second Vatican Council. Its criticism is particularly directed against government reactions to labor and regional problems, as both the Catalan and Basque regionalist movements have strong religious undertones. The difficulties between Church and State have increased recently, since young priests who support the workers' groups persecuted by the police are often heavily fined or imprisoned.

The Army, the bulwark of the régime, which had hitherto remained



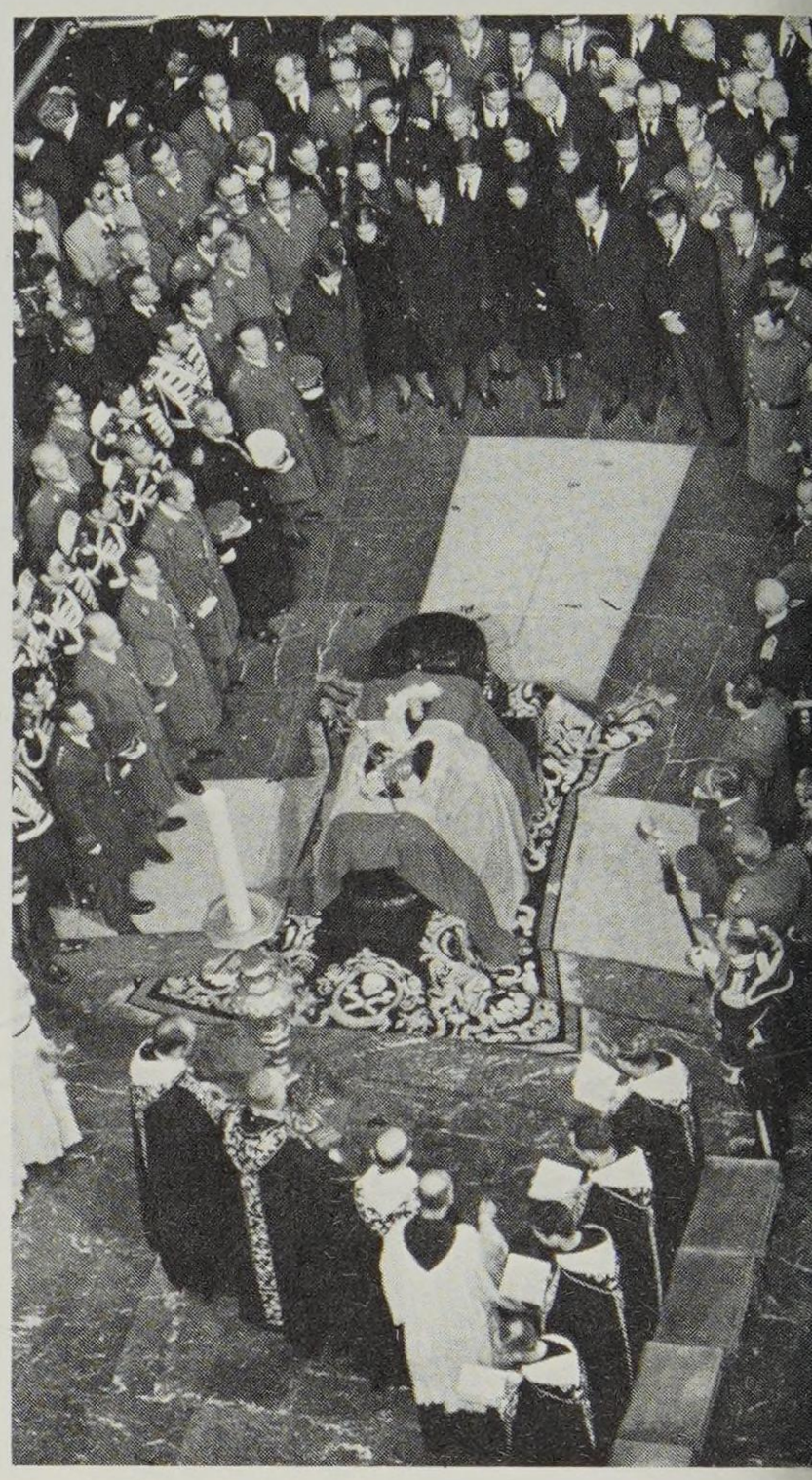
unified and preserved perfect discipline, began to show symptoms indicating that the waves of reform had reached it. The Portuguese example, of medium-level officers who had forced an opening to the left, inspired a group of Spanish officers to set up the Military Democratic Union, which sought to pursue the same aims for Spain. As had happened in Portugal, the movement seemed to be based on the desire for reform among the younger officers, against the conservatism of colonels and generals; although, so far, the ideological deviation among the military seems to apply only to a minority, it is nonetheless important, in that it has actually reached the most solid bulwark which the system has had to date.

The régime can also count upon a new social class—a bourgeoisie whose standards of living have improved in recent years thanks to industrial development and tourism. The rapid rise of *per capita* income to $ 2,000 has led a great many Spaniards, who have taken enthusiastically to the consumer society and have their own car and household appliances, to look upon political change as threatening their new-found status. This fear is greatest of all among people of over 50, who experienced the horrors of the Civil War and the poverty-stricken and unhappy post-war period. The younger generation, however, who have no memory of those years, are clamoring to one degree or another for political and social freedom in order to put Spain on a par with other European countries.

The Spanish reform movement took on new life when the prime defender of continuity died after nearly 40 years in power. On the death of General Franco, a young, European man assumed power. With the arrival of King Juan Carlos I, the pace of changed quickened. Carlos Arias was kept in office, but new ministers, particularly Fraga Iribarne (Interior) and Areilza (Foreign Affairs) tried to create in the country the foundations of a democracy which would satisfy domestic malcontents and offer the outside world a new face of Spain, which would make it possible for Spain to enter the European Economic Community and the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. This is an attempt to become incorporated into the Western World, in the eyes of which Spain, after the revolutions in Greece and Portugal, was the sole remaining "fascist" country in the continent.

This effort at renewal was made on various fronts. On the regional issue, Juan Carlos I showed his interest in the provincial languages by himself using Catalan on the occasion of his visit to Barcelona; a plan for autonomy was being considered which would have benefited both Catalonia and the Basque region, in an attempt to disarm the regional movement before it got to the stage of actual separatism.

In the political field, the long-suspended freedoms of assembly and demonstration were given new impetus, greater liberality was allowed in the press, and the new law on association led to a proliferation of acronyms, standing for names of parties and groups in which there now emerged a wide range of political figures, from survivors of the Republic (J. M. Gil-Robles) and those who, after working with the régime, decided to go their own way (Ruiz Jiménez), and the new "leaders" aged less than forty years. The political spectrum allowed by the State includes everything from the liberal right to moderate socialism, but excludes the Communist party, the Anarchists and the Separatist movement.



The attempts made by these last three parties to sabotage the planned reforms, on the grounds that they are incomplete, have been met with excessively harsh resistance from the extreme right. The so-called "Bunker" has, as its leading exponents, Blas Piñar, the director of "Fuerza Nueva", and the former Falange represented by Girón; in addition to these obstacles, there is an even more grave one—the labor sector. The fact that the reforms came along at the same time as the economic crisis, which, after the oil crisis, has hit Spain severely, with high rates of inflation, has made the situation of the workers much worse, leading to a greater amount of street demonstrations. Lack of both material and psychological preparation on the part of the police for this new situation gave rise to tragic events, such as occurred in Victoria, in northern Spain. The difficulty involved in bringing up to date the organs of repression is merely

This funeral service marks the end of almost forty years of personal rule. Francisco Franco, Caudillo de España por la gracia de Dios, *(Leader of Spain by the grace of God), is taken to his last resting-place in the Valle de los Caídos.*

one of the many encountered by the government as it sought to put into practice a new system, using old and discredited structures, such as the Spanish *Cortes*. The labor sector has particularly highlighted the disparity in attitudes, since the workers refuse to be represented by the official organs of the "Sindicato Vertical", and have thus prevented a dialogue with both employers and government. Strikes soon become violent in such a situation. The same breakdown of communication has also occurred between students and academic authorities.

The situation in Spain today is thus highly fluid, and, for that reason, both interesting and fraught with risk. Attempts to dismantle the Establishment of four decades with the least possible trauma, and the threat from the political extremes have forced the government to take contradictory steps, allowing and then denying freedoms, authorizing a demonstration and a new left-wing publication one day and banning a meeting or a performance by a dissident singer the next.

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